LIFE AND TIMES OF LOK. TILAK



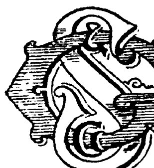
BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

LIFE AND TIMES
of
LOKAMANYA TILAK

By N. C. KELKAR

Translated by

D. V. DIVEKAR



S. GANESAN,
PUBLISHER, TRIPLICANE, MADRAS
1928

To

Lala Lajpat Rai

FOREWORD

I am very much thankful to my friend and co-worker Mr. D. V. Divekar for having given an English garb to the first volume of the biography of the late Lokamanya Tilak which I wrote and published in Marathi in 1923. Ordinarily, one would like himself to translate his own book in a different language or to re-write it independently. But in this case I was busy with the preparation for completing this biography, which I have done this year by bringing out the companion volumes II & III of the Marathi work. And I am glad to announce that Mr. Divekar intends soon to follow up his present book with another, and a bigger one, in which the life-story of Lokamanya Tilak will be taken up and carried to the end.

It goes without saying that every language has got a genius of its own, and for that reason the original and the translation of any literary work must occasionally differ in the resulting sense and expression. But this is not so vital where a biography is concerned, which is written mostly in a historical spirit and a narrative form, as it may be in the case of literature whose literary form is its very essence. Moreover, I have satisfied myself that Mr. Divekar being very

well acquainted with both Marathi and English, has done his best to make his English rendering of the original Marathi as faithful as possible, even considering the fact that he had necessarily to condense the original matter a good deal in places where there was too much of detail of a local character or mannerism or special allusion which might defy translation.

As I have said above, Mr. Divekar has in this book given an English garb to the original Marathi. The sartorial art is a difficult art in itself. And the difficulty increases when for a man of one nationality, a dress of a different nationality has got to be planned and fitted. But the difficulty in the present special case is, I think, tempered by the fact that in so far as Mr. Divekar has paid his attention more to the original purpose of dress, *viz.*, comfort in use than outward ornamentation, the Indian reader, at any rate, would be prepared to approach his book from the same point of view. He would care less for the manner than the matter of expression. The reader would like only to go straight into the spirit of the translation for the sake of the biographical matter it may contain and would not stop on the way, like a fastidious idler, to look at and criticize and find fault with things simply to gratify his own literary egotism. He would bear in mind that Mr. Divekar has had to work under a double

disadvantage, in that his task was to give a suitable expression to ideas which were not in many cases his own, and that also in a foreign language. But I think that, on the whole, Mr. Divekar has done his task well. His habitatory mode and endeavour has been fairly successful, because in his translation, he has followed me in my method in writing the original book. We have both, I think, discarded the cut and colour of an extreme kind. In point of colour we have not chosen, to use Carlyle's words, 'the soberest drab' or 'the high-flaming scarlet' either, in depicting our subject. And as for the cut, it is not too prosaic and matter-of-fact or dandiacal either. We have discarded mannerism and idiosyncracy and tried to give a simple narrative of the life-story of Lokamanya Tilak, taking care, however, to give the picture an ample and suitable back-ground, painted in true historical colours, and faithfully depicting the life and spirit of the contemporary generations through which Tilak gradually emerged from the position of a school-master to that of an Indian national hero.

POONA,
10th October, 1928.

N. C. KELKAR.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Few words are necessary to send out this book into the world. And after Mr. N. C. Kelkar's reference to the difficulties of a translator of such books in his foreword, fewer still are called for.

Ever since the first volume of Mr. Kelkar's Marathi biography of Lokamanya Tilak was published, I wished that there ought to be a full biography of Tilak in English as well. The Marathi book was in the hands of readers in 1923 and surely soon after that the English rendering of the same should have appeared. But the wish, for one reason or another—or probably for no reason at all—remained unfulfilled. At the begining of April of 1927, however, it began to beat itself on the mind with greater strength and earnestness and under its strokes I began the work of translation in May of the year. The work of translation was carried on for a year and more during the leisure-hours, of course not without occasional inevitable interruptions, sometimes of the duration of a whole month. I am, indeed, glad that the work has been over and that the fruit is at last in the hands of readers.

Every one can imagine the difficulty of

the task of translation. And I crave from the readers the indulgence which a knowledge of the arduous nature of the work is sure to evoke. Abridgment and translation had to be carried on simultaneously, and naturally a coach with these two not well-yoked and well-broken horses was more than commonly difficult to drive. I am not unconscious of the many deficiencies in the book. I can at least assure the readers that I have given to its preparation as much as I could in point of attention and care. My only wish is that I have not mutilated the original, nor marred its beauty in the least manner.

For helping the completion of this literary undertaking I owe a deep debt of gratitude to many friends. First and foremost, I am profoundly thankful to Mr. N. C. Kelkar for granting me the permission to translate his work, for writing the foreword to it, and also for otherwise helping me in many respects. I am delighted to acknowledge my obligations to Professor V. T. Champhekar who, as a labour of love, wrote out chapter XXVII of the book. My friend Mr. D. B. Ranade, (student in the M.A. class, Deccan College, Poona) obliged me by doing the most tedious task of going through the heaps of manuscript and preparing it for the press. I value highly the friendly gift to me by Mr. P. M. Chandarkar of Lok. Tilak's letter of

resignation published as an appendix for the first time in full. Out of the remaining friends, colleagues and superiors who always wished well of the book, I must select for special mention the names of Mr. S. N. Agashe who took down the first two chapters and of Mr. V. H. Ponkshe whose ever-ready pen, moving in his invariably willing hand, did yeoman's service to me.

My friend Mr. S. Ganesan, the publisher, comes in last. But to him my thanks are due in a great measure. The manuscript was transformed into a book-form, with all the laborious processess which only book-makers can know, and in spite of all breaks and interruptions that happen in the day's work, within only a few months ; and readers can well imagine that without his unstinted efforts the work could not have been accomplished in such a wonderfully short period. The printing, the get-up, the binding of the book show what great care he has bestowed upon it and prove with what parental love he saw it through the press. And surely none would be more ungrateful than myself, if I were not to say in the most simple words that I am beholden to him beyond measure, for want of other words to express the gratitude I feel.

MADRAS,
21—8—28 } D. V. DIVEKAR.

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BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

CHAPTER I

A PEEP INTO FAMILY HISTORY

CHIKHALGAON in Dapoli Taluka of Ratnagiri District is the place of origin of the Tilaks. The name of this village is to be traced in the history of the Peshwas, and to-day it is included in Dapoli Taluka. Like every other part of Konkan, this also is blessed with natural scenery. Together with beauty of nature, the people of Konkan are also endowed with intelligence of a high order. But as there are certain merits in the people of that part of Bombay Presidency, so are there certain demerits. The combination of such excellences and defects is so peculiar that it may almost be laid down as a rule that a resident of Konkan is told by reference to the question as to whether he possesses the hall-mark of a particular set of virtues and foibles. Those who want to humiliate the Chitpawans or to paint them black, may ingeniously suggest that they are born from a 'pyre.' On the contrary, those who are proud of these people may justify their position that the Konkansthas are the God's chosen people by etymologically describing this community as "possessed of a pure heart". As a matter of fact, neither of these is based on reality. That there is a distinctive

blend of merits and demerits in the Konkansthas is, however, amply proved by experience.

These Chitpawans may rightly be compared to the Phoenix. It is believed in Greek mythology that this bird takes his rise from his own ashes. He loves a secluded life, and hates society. Of great strength, his flight is much too high for the common bird. He can die at his own will. When tired of his existence, he burns himself, to reappear with greater brilliance. It is unnecessary to apply in detail the analogy to the Konkansthas. Every community, indeed, has its own special characteristics. The Deshasthas are renowned for their generosity, the Karhadas are held to be a sect of people with fine-spun manners, of much worldly wisdom, and of spruce behaviour. In the pantheon of national heroes, the Konkansthas also have made a niche for themselves like the Deshasthas. As the latter community bore many a saint, so the former was the mother of a shining roll of heroes and statesmen. The Konkansthas have had, in addition, the honour of receiving the greatest share of the oppression at the hands of the British people. In the letters of Sir Valentine Chirol or in the report of the Sedition Committee, the mention of the Chitpawan stands in high relief. Like the Jews, the Chitpawan community bears upon it the proud marks of persecution. It may be

that the torture to which they were subjected is the cause of their exploits. The heroism of Parashuram too may be due possibly to this kind of oppression. In historic times, the Bhat family fled away from Konkan on account of the repression to which they were victims and attained to the position of the Peshwas. Apart from this cause of their greatness which may be laid aside as somewhat fortuitous, it seems as though the Goddess of Genius is indissolubly wedded to the Konkansthas. Ratnagiri is reputed to be the centre of Konkan, as much as it is well-known to be an emporium of intellect. Bal Gangadhar Tilak the glory of the Tilak family, was born in Konkan in Ratnagiri.

Every society is of necessity made up like a river with several tributaries flowing from different quarters. Any attempt to trace back the sources of them all results, instead of in the discovery of a definite recognizable truth, in the deeper bewilderment of the explorer. The association of Tilak's name with Poona has now become almost permanent through a long unbroken tradition. Not that Poona was granted to Tilak as an endowment by any man on earth. "A Poona Brahman" is rather used as a term of reproach to the Chitpawans. But it can easily be ascertained that a few centuries back, Konkansthas might not have even dreamt of a remote sight of Poona. Poona forms a part of

the Desh, or the Ghat as it is called, that is to say, the plateau of the Sahyadri range. This Desh may be said to belong naturally to the Deshasthas or a sub-sect thereof. The Konkansthas are obviously not the original inhabitants of Konkan. They must have immigrated into it. The Saraswats of Konkan are Gaud by caste, and the thread of their relationship can be traced to Bengal which is their original home. Another great community of Konkan Brahmans is that of the Konkansthas. It is just possible that they originally travelled or sailed down gradually from the north. The Satya-shodhok community, in a fit of hatred, sometimes twits the Konkansthas as not belonging to Konkan and the taunt not unnaturally pierces certain Brahmans to the quick. But historically the story is not entirely untrue. Though even the Mahrattas by way of retort, may be cogently shown to be not native to the Konkan soil, yet the retort cannot be a sufficient proof of Konkan being the original or autochthonous residence of Konkansthas. With the sharpened knife of historical research or with the bloody scissors of communal or regional prejudices in hand the local pride of every community can be torn to tatters in no time. Even the late Mr. V. N. Mandlik has admitted that the forefathers of the Konkansthas placed their foot in Konkan after a voyage from some

other land or province. On coming into India, the Konkansthas, however, came to be included among the Panch Dravid Brahmans.

Though, as shown above, the sentiment of local pride may be dismissed as not deserving notice, the emotion itself is so powerful in the human heart that, howsoever a man may try to get himself rid of it, it refuses to vacate his heart. "There are some feelings time cannot benumb, nor torture shake." A human heart without this emotional pride is like a rudderless ship or like a paper kite with its regulating knot gone. It is under the force of this heart-yearning that the Maharashtriyans call Maharashtra their own, the Deshasthas look upon the Desh as especially set apart for them, and the Konkansthas consider Konkan as their own *sanctum sanctorum*. In Konkan, the Non-Brahmans also are promiscuously interspersed. But there are numerous well-populated Brahman towns and villages in Konkan, while above the Ghats they are very rare. Only in a new colony can there be a regular classification of residents on the principle of caste. In Konkan we come across such towns systematically comprising Brahmans. This fact itself proves that the Konkansthas must have immigrated from outside and then have colonized it.

For many generations, Chikhalgaon was the place of residence of the Tilak family. Laxmi Keshav is described as its presiding deity.

The history of the Tilaks cannot be traced beyond the great grand-father of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. We get some record of the doings of this family down from the rise of this person, namely Keshav, who was the Khot of Chikhalgaon.

Though we cannot fix with certainty the age of the Tilak family, we can infer from the right of Khot vested in the family, that it may have settled in that village three or four hundred years since. When the controversy regarding Khoti was raging in Maharashtra, the late Mr. Mandlik produced in the High Court hundreds of documents and charters by virtue of which mainly he proved that even 280 years before the emergence of the Peshwas, families who had acquired Khoti in villages in certain parts of the Ratnagiri and Kolaba Districts, were in existence. Khoti is a *vatan* granted by kings to persons who took a pioneer's part in colonizing uninhabited parts or who brought under the plough fields that lay fallow for years together. Thus does the quality of boldness in the pioneers count for much; and thus too in adventure reside the seeds of prosperity.

With the virtue of daring, colonizers generally possess the virtue of adaptability to new circumstances. The Non-Brahmans have not the sole monopoly in this virtue. Many a Khoti *vatan* is found which has been

originally procured by Brahmans also. To clear a jungle, to build a dam over water, to invest capital for first cultivation, to maintain tenants and to remit punctually the collections of land revenue in the Khoti village—to accomplish these tasks, undoubtedly an especially qualified and powerful man of parts is needed. The reward that he is to get for all these various courageous acts, is the permanent Khoti *vatan* and other minor rights that go along with it.

But the proceeds of Khoti are generally insufficient to cover all the family expenses of a man. That right is not roomy enough for the unrestrained play of all the owner's ambitions. In brief, the work of collection, in the main, of land revenue done by a Khot is not much dissimilar to the duties of an ordinary Talathi or a simple Kulkarni. It is true that a Khot may claim as his own a certain number of agricultural fields. But neither a ryot, nor for the matter of that, even a Khot, can, simply by virtue of ownership of land, hope to be in a position to make a name for himself.

The acquisition of mere money in a particular profession is not sufficient to give colour to a man's life. It comes only of a position of authority or of status in public life. Many persons in England accumulate an amount of wealth either by agriculture or by starting a factory or a business or even a

brewery. But they do not consider themselves to have reached the pink of perfection in this world merely by the heaping of a hoard. They use their money as a stepping-stone, as it were, to enter Parliament, and if they are not qualified to hold a position in the Cabinet, their mind is ill at ease till they succeed in obtaining at least the membership of a Royal Commission. In the times of the Peshwas too, Chitpawan boys of promise and of parts could not rest content with tilling their plots of land in Konkan and driving a team of bullocks. Agriculture to them was at best a means of subsistence, and that also not easily available. Young men, therefore, whose minds worked under the spell of a wider and more lustrous career than that on the farm, attempted to secure at least a Mamlat of a certain town.

The great grand-father of Tilak (Keshavrao) was born in the year 1778, that is to say, 40 years before the Peshwas ceased to exist. He was well-versed in letters; there is no reason to doubt his description as "an expert rider, an unerring marksman, a champion swimmer, a good hand at cooking". With his innate industry and determination, he got for himself the Mamlat of Anjanwel. However, after the extinction of the Peshwa dynasty in 1818, he gave it up and returning to Chikhalgaon, devoted himself solely to the performance of religious rites. Immediately

after, the once thriving Mamlat began to diminish, and the waters of poverty threatened to close round. But without resorting to any other course to make up for the increasing deficits, he dragged on, weaving the web of his life with what shreds and patches he could collect.

Keshavrao's first wife forsook this world after leaving behind her two sons by name Ramachandra and Kashinath. She was with him for some time to enjoy his Mamlat, and it was her good fortune to be honoured with the title of a Mamlatdar's wife. Keshavrao's second wife also gave birth to some children. The eldest of this progeny, Ramachandra, is the grand-father of Balwantrao Tilak. He was born in 1802. Ramachandrapant had not the privilege of acquiring much knowledge. In accordance with the custom of those days, he was married while yet an unripe boy, and at the raw age of eighteen, to him was born his first son by name Gangadhar in 1820. This Gangadhar is the well-known father of Balwantrao. The indigence of the family drove Ramachandrapant to seek service in the British Survey Department. He was destined to travel far and wide. Ramachandrapant having been often required to be away from home, Gangadharpant had come to have a special fondness for his grand-father. It was his grandfather who

initiated him into the letters, and after that he was entered into a Marathi school at Dabhol, where he, being perhaps a little older than the rest of the school-children, had to hold sway as a monitor or a secretary.

When his studies in the Dabhol school were over, Gangadharpant aspired to prosecute higher studies somewhere outside Konkan, and as there was little hope of any help coming from his father or grand-father, he left for Poona on his own responsibility. He began his English studies at a school then famous in Poona, conducted by Keshavrao Bhawalkar. In the year 1837 Gangadharpant's mother Ramabai, on her way to Nasik, halted at Poona to see her son; but succumbed to cholera all of a sudden. At the time Ramchandrapant had three children—two sons, Gangadhar and Govind and one daughter, Dwarka. Strangely enough, instead of making arrangements with a view to taking greater care of these motherless children, he allowed a kind of strong disgust with this world to overpower him, and he started right off to Chitrakut, where was supposed to stay a family of the Peshwas. Thus, on the youthful shoulders of Gangadharpant fell the burden of the maintenance of family and he was forced to bid good-bye to his English books and yoke himself to service in the Educational Department. He got the job of a teacher in a Marathi

school, and returned to Konkan. There he was soon married to Parvatibai by whom he had three daughters and then in 1856, a son. This son is the hero of this biography, Balwantrao Tilak.

The service brought Gangadharpant only a pittance of Rs. 5 per month. At Malwan he used to count five more. Even in this impoverished state of affairs, Gangadharpant had a large circle of *proteges* round him. Helped by the cheapness of those days and the simplicity and inexpensiveness of Konkan life, he could support, in one way or another, a number of students who had none else to fall back upon. Gangadharpant was thence transferred to Chiplun on Rs. 15. Of course, in proportion to the increment of his salary, his dependents also increased. He was not, however, to stay long at Chiplun. From here, he was again posted to Ratnagiri on Rs. 25. In those days there were no Training Colleges for teachers, nor was there any fixed scale drawn up for teachers' pay and allowances. It is said that though the teachers of those days were less paid than now, they were superior in learning to their present professional successors. Though, however, there were no Training Colleges as such, intelligent teachers in primary schools could skilfully drive the tandem of instructing their pupils, and also, harnessed behind it, teaching their own selves. By

dint of such self-teaching, Gangadharpant acquired proficiency in Sanskrit and Mathematics. In Mathematics, he had carried forward his learning to a very high degree, and in Sanskrit he was so proficient that he was better recognized as Gangadhar Shastri than by the appellation of Gangadharpant. One of the effective reasons of the great affection subsisting between Dr. Ramkrishnapant Bhandarkar and Gangadarpant Tilak, was the love of Sanskrit lore common to both, though, of course, their residence together in Ratnagiri may have helped the growth of that friendship. Gangadhar Shastri must be reckoned among those intellectual torsoes or martyrs who could not achieve worldly distinction for lack of a University degree. Gangadharpant was no doubt endowed with intellectual brilliancy. But he was not fortunate to have been able to study English. The work too that fell to his lot required a man only of an ordinary calibre. Beginning from a village schoolmaster, he did not get beyond Assistant Deputy Inspectorship. The books which Gangadharpant wrote or compiled, were educational for the purpose of use in schools, such as a history of England, a text-book on Arithmetic, a hand-book of Grammar; these were the only books he wrote, and they were purchased by the Educational Department from the author.

Ramachandrapant who had started for Chitrakut made Benares his abode after serving under the Peshwa for some years as a Superintendent of Stores. At Benares he wanted to turn a recluse all at once. But it was the time of suppression of the Indian Mutiny. It is stated that Government had issued secret instructions not to allow any one to go about in the garb of an anchorite without a Government certificate, because it was believed then that offenders against law had found ascetic sackcloth a convenient wear to escape the clutches of law. Whether for securing such a certificate or to have a last, longing, lingering look at his house in Konkan, Ramachandrapant turned his face homeward. By the time Ramachandrapant arrived in Konkan, a son was born to Gangadharpant, and the grand-father had the pleasing privilege of what to a Hindu is a religious satisfaction, *viz.* of having witnessed the birth and seen the face of a grandson. Though Ramachandrapant went back home and had every inducement to stay there from a worldly point of view, he did not swerve from his decision to renounce the world formally. He repaired to Benares again, where he realised his wish and, finally in 1872, left this world for good.

Gangadharpant was certainly not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. But with his industry and tirelessness, he gradually im-

proved his pecuniary position. While yet he was young, the Mamlat in the family was gone. Only Khoti remained as the main-stay of the family. In course of time, the family he had to support increased in numbers, and naturally quarrels and misunderstandings began to rear up their ugly heads. Till Keshavrao's demise, the gamut of the household was in perfect harmony. This concord disappeared by degrees, and there were rifts in the lute. There is documentary evidence to show that in 1846, a serious endeavour was made by members of Tilak's family to compose all differences, and that it was resolved on oath that all should abide by the decision of Ramachandrapant who was to manage the family affairs in consultation with all. But this arrangement did not last more than a dozen years. For in Konkan, the meagre and limited means of subsistence and the abnormal prolificity of households conspire to make unanimity in a joint-family short-lived. On the Ghats, instances of large families getting on happily for generations together are not few and far between. Even to-day there are in existence families of Patels of villages, which have grown so enormously in size as to constitute a village by themselves.

But the reason for this obviously is that the stock of the necessaries of life in that part of the Presidency is more plentiful, compared with that available in

Konkan. That an inhabitant of Konkan should be brutally out-spoken and rather something of a miser, is, without doubt, traceable to some extent, not to his own character but to the circumstances in which he is brought up. The theory propounded by Buckle, the great English philosophical historian, that a man's character is influenced and modified by the geographical and physical position in which he passes his days, as a result of which he becomes the embodiment of specific virtues and vices, is fully borne out and exemplified by a comparative study of the physiography of Konkan and Desh, and the consequent development of a particular set of qualities and modes of behaviour by the sons of each of these provinces. It is unnecessary to explain further why persons living in a tract of land which, like a chess-board, is partitioned into small bits develop a narrowness of outlook and a kind of contemptuous parsimoniousness, and again why persons who live, move and have their being in a vast country-side in which agricultural land owned by a single individual extends far and wide for miles together, come to possess a broad-bottomed mind and a wide-sweeping vision.

In 1862 the patched-up unity of the family began to crumble down. From 1865 suits began to be filed in the courts, and even decrees were executed. The schedule

of the division of property shows how paltry is the income and estate of people in Konkan. It also denotes why the owner of such petty holdings usually possesses a vision only corresponding to the slice that he gets. Where partitions are so minute, the understanding to apprehend them must also be proportionately scrupulous or nice. It cannot afford to be more spacious. The skill of a pleader in Konkan or the perspicacity of a sub-judge who has worked there for some time is really due to his constant dealings with such fragmentation of land. According to the schedule of partition, referred to above Ramachandra Keshav, Tilak's grandfather, got as his share 48 acres of land assessed at nearly Rs. 18 for revenue purpose.

The ball of suits once set rolling in 1865, continued to move for the succeeding 35 or 40 years. Never in his whole life could Tilak stay so much as a week in Konkan, nor did he ever enjoy the income from his Konkan property. Ever since he came of age, if not since the death of his father, Tilak had renounced his personal claim on that property, and at last in his will, he laid it, as his votive offering, at the feet of the presiding deity of his family.

In 1889 Tilak passed four days in Konkan. He had a mind to clear his share in the property of all the cob-webs of rival legal claims, if possible, and to give it away to the

service of the village deity, namely, Lakshmi-Keshav, of which we have spoken above. People in Konkan rightly believe that it is the duty of their brethren, who have migrated to the Desh and prospered there, to restore dilapidated temples in their native villages; and if we glance at the history of many families of this type, we shall be convinced that this obligation on the fortunate emigrants, as they may be called, has been unfailingly carried out. Not that they did not build new temples in their new colonies, but their native temples or the abodes of the family-deities are considered to be the first charge upon their income. The anniversary festivals of such Gods and Goddesses in Konkan make a veritable gathering of all the widely scattered and happily placed children of the village. These festive occasions present a lively and moving directory, as it were, of such far-flung sons of the soil. Hardly a new year dawns, when none of such flourishing *emigres* donate something substantial towards the performance of such pious acts.

But Tilak's property was in a whirlpool of legal difficulties. When the owner is an absentee one and the fields are farmed out to tenants, even the land assessment cannot be easily paid from the proceeds of the harvest. The Khoti village was not yet properly apportioned in under these circumstances, in his Konkan hereditament Tilak

felt a wolf by the ears. He was powerless to subjugate and bring it under his full control. He was unwilling to release the possession to take care of itself. It was his desire that it should be devoted to God's service rather than be frittered away among either his tenants or his kith and kin. But without proper partition and delimitation of the land, the collections could not be a smooth-sailing affair even though the land might be set apart as sacred to God. For this purpose, Tilak had to fight and fight long in courts of law. He had to go through many other kinds of litigation also in one capacity or another. The long and short of all these court-fights was that in 1894, there was registered the award of an arbitration, by which Tilak obtained land assessed at about Rs. 1–8 and some Khoti land assessed at about Rs. 8–9.

It is commonly supposed that a Khot is a leading and financially well-established personage. People also imagine that the hereditary property of Tilak must have been immense. Even his friends sometimes indulged in humour at the cost of Tilak's supposed affluence. When the life-members of the Deccan Education Society fell out among themselves, and when they came to ridicule one another's self-sacrifice, the opponents of Tilak brought into requisition this magnified estate of his to humiliate him. The fact, how-

ever, given above about his inheritance shows what truth there was in the allegation of his adversaries. Not only was Balwantrao Tilak himself completely robbed of the warmth of wealth, but his father Gangadharpant also had not had much of that gracious gift with which he could ward off the shivers of poverty. There is no doubt that Gangadharpant, by his industry, added to the family income. This addition undoubtedly made Balwantrao's infancy far more comfortable than Agarkar's whose *res angusta domi* form a painful chapter in his life. We have on record an account-book kept by Gangadharpant in 1866 when he was in Poona, which makes his financial position as clear as crystal.

The habit of noting down one's receipts and disbursements which people of the older generation had formed is certainly commendable and worthy of imitation. To-day, big manufacturers and land-lords do keep accounts, but few among the middle-class people subject themselves to this kind of discipline. Often they remain content with only stray jottings in their diaries, wanting in any systematic balance-sheet or anything of that sort. Gangadharpant started the year referred to above, 1866, with about Rs.250, and his receipts during the year including his pay, allowances, etc, came up to Rs. 3,900. The total expenditure of the year is very nearly equal to the receipts, and only Rs. 16

were left as a saving to be entered into the next year's accounts. In this account-book, some money is described as spent for Balwantrao Tilak then only ten years of age, which fact indicates that in 1866 he was literally working at his A. B. C.

We have seen that Gangadharpant's text-books compiled for use in schools brought him some money. He also carried on money-lending business on a small scale. Though we cannot compute his exact income from that source, these items were admittedly inconsiderable. As a matter of fact, we know that he was put to a great loss in at least one undertaking. Gangadharpant suffered in this along with some others. It was the Saw-Mill Company of Crawford. For some years, this company was prosperous. But its prosperity did not last long. The reason for the debacle must probably have been the wayward methods of Crawford. It was almost a rule that where there was Crawford, there must be pecuniary confusion. For some years share-holders in this company got dividends to the extent of 9%, and even a reserve fund was shown on paper. From 1887, however, the Mill began to totter. Gangadharpant wrote a touching letter to Crawford in 1870, pressing him to pay up his money. He wanted the money back in order to defray the expenses of his son's marriage, and asked from Crawford at least Rs. 800 to be paid out

of the Poona District Treasury. The letter is thus concluded: "It is a question of marriage, and I am writing to you only because you had promised to remit my money on my reminding you once again. Unless the money is in my hands, I cannot settle the marriage. The days for the performance of the marriage ceremony are approaching near, and hence I have again to urge you to be kind enough to send Rs. 800 immediately this letter reaches your hands."

In 1871 Crawford issued a statement for the share-holders of the Company and informed them that till then, he had lost about Rs. 24,000 in the Mill. By that time Crawford started back for England, and it is said it was his intention to palm this company off on Government. But his plan does not seem to have materialised.

In brief, Gangadharpant had to submit to a loss of Rs. 1,000 which sum has been shown to be due from Crawford even in his last will. Judging by his testament, Gangadharpant does not seem to have possessed any cash as such. Out of his estate, he gave a portion worth about Rs. 5,000 to his son, Balwantrao Tilak. By this will Gangadharpant gave one third of his property to his younger brother, Govind Ramachandra Tilak. It has been laid down in the document that the whole property should be managed by this younger brother after

Gangadharpant's death, that his minor son should be educated up to the B.A., that both of them, the uncle and the nephew, should continue to live together even after the son had attained his majority, and that if they could not pull on together, the property should be partitioned as indicated above. There is a line in that document which says that if his son, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, required any help till his graduation, it should be given out of this sum. The words 'if required', clearly suggest that Gangadharpant had inwardly felt confident that his son would, in all probability, be able to complete his studies mainly with the aid of scholarships and prizes.

The above account shows Gangadharpant to have been a pure-minded, diligent, capable, resolute, cool and calculating gentleman. Had his family circumstances been more favourable, he would certainly have completed his English studies and risen to the position of a Head-Master in the Education Department, if not of a Professor in a College. But because of lack of English education he had to allow himself to be side-tracked. He could not rise above the post of an Assistant Deputy Inspector, and he had to seek consolation in what money he could eke out from his school-books. Nevertheless all believed that here was a man possessed of keen intelligence, deep learning and quick

understanding. He was also known for his patriotism. For some time Gangadharpant had to work under Madhavrao Barve who afterwards became famous as the Diwan of Kolhapur. There was little love lost between them, both of them having somewhat of an irascible temper. Perhaps for this reason, Gangadharpant could not get beyond the grade of an Assistant Deputy Inspector. Out of this pair of the head and his assistant, the former was not much popular, while the latter drew round him a number of willing admirers. From this fact, it appears that public opinion was inclined to find fault with the behaviour of Madhavrao Barve rather than with that of Gangadharpant Tilak. It was purely an accident that this hostility between Barve and Tilak survived long. But none will be audacious enough to assert that the articles that were published in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* against Barve in respect of the Kolhapur case, were penned by Tilak by way of wreaking vengence upon Barve on behalf of his father. For, people could be counted by the thousand who, like Tilak, rightly or wrongly criticised Barve's conduct; nor was Tilak's antipathy to Barve only an inheritance from his father. That the bickering between Barves and Tilaks should continue for two generations, was not due to its being a legacy; but it was simply a surprising coincidence,

a stroke of chance. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, it may be, did not consciously imitate his father in his quality of being in the good books of the people and consequently in bad odour with Government. But there is no disputing the statement that after his father, he successfully carried forward that policy to perfection.

When Gangadharpant was transferred from Ratnagiri to Poona, Dr. Bhandarkar was a teacher in Ratnagiri High School. At various farewell functions held in honour of Gangadharpant, the duty of speaking in praise of the departing friend mostly fell to the lot of Dr. Bhandarkar who always did it with great joy and pride. Balwantrao Tilak cherished till his death, in private relations, the same feeling of affection that had ripened between his father and Dr. Bhandarkar, as delicately as a bunch of roses in a beautiful flower-pot. Fortunately or unfortunately, the pursuits, lines of life, ideals, habits, etc., of Tilak and Bhandarkar flowed along two different channels; and therefore this latent feeling of friendliness never assumed a manifest form. All their days they stood before the populace as two opponents in public life. However, when they accosted each other in private, their breasts surged with the first impulse of their mutual esteem and affection. Dr. Bhandarkar always loved to look upon Tilak as his friend's son,

and Tilak too, on his part, conducted himself before Bhandarkar with a reverential awe and humility due to his father's comrade. At the time of Gangadharpant's transfer from Ratnagiri, in one of his speeches Dr. Bhandarkar referred to him in these words: "The erudition, imaginativeness, compassion, independence of thought, and tirelessness of Gangadharpant are worthy of being followed by all. I feel that to-day we are surrendering from our hands the deposit, as it were, which we had long had in our possession. To us he was a repository of grammar, a store-house of Marathi language, an exemplar of the devotion between a preceptor and his pupils." If Fate had decreed that Gangadharpant should stay in Poona from the beginnings of his life, none can say that he would not have attained to fame like Krishnashastri Chiplunkar. Had it happened, the pair of Gangadhar Shastri and Bal Shastri Tilak would assuredly have been voted by History to have been as illustrious as the father Krishna Shastri and the son Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar.

Tilak had prepared in his life-time a genealogical tree of his family for some purpose. With some additions, his son Shridharpant published it in 1921. With the help of this, we get some particulars about nine generations of the Tilaks. One of the ancestors of the family had gone to the battle-

field of Panipat and died on his way home. From his nephew, by name Keshav, Tilak's great grand-father, we have a consistent record. This tree evidently ramified into four or five main branches each of which has at least to its credit one noteworthy member. Either in the capacity of a Sub-judge or an engineer or a poet, they appear to have distinguished themselves. Krishnaji Gangadhar Tilak was a Sub-judge at Satara. Gopalrao Tilak worked as an Executive Engineer in Sindh and elsewhere, and ultimately resided at Bagalkot. Vinayak Vithal Tilak was an Assistant Registrar in the High Court and a Sub-judge at Poona. At present he stays in Kolhapur. Narayan Waman Tilak is held to be one of the foremost modern Marathi poets. In the Tilak family, as there were many who were distinguished for their orthodox piety, so there were others who had renounced their faith. Poet Narayan Waman and one other, Vishwanath Moreshwar, had confessed another religion. Tilak's mind was much exercised over these two cases of conversion in his family. But all members of a family cannot manifest equal excellence for ever. It is Nature's way to allow both swans and geese to float over lakes. In a fold black sheep do necessarily lie with the white. Similarly, under one roof are found to be often born persons some of whom turn out to be patterns to imitate and

others examples to deter. Above and beyond the names registered in this pedigree, there are certain branches of the Tilak family established in Pen, Panwel, Malwan and other talukas. We are also given to understand that certain branches of the family had quitted Chikhalgaon 200 or more years ago, and even that, for one reason or another, they did not scruple to have bartered away the patronymic itself.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE
OF
TILAKS

Keshav.
|
Damodar.
|
Krishnaji.
|
Keshav.
|
Krishnaji.

- Keshav *alias* Kesopant
  - Ramachandrapant (1802-1872)
    - Gangadhar (1820-1872)
      - *B. G. Tilak* (23-7-1856 to 1-8-1920)
        - Krishnabai. Married to Mr. V. G. Ketkar, Pleader, Nasik.
        - Vishwanath. (1883-1903)
        - Durgabai. Married to Mr. P. R. Vaidya, Govt. Engineer.
        - Mathubai. Marrid to Dr. S. M. Sane, Professor, Lucknow University
        - Ramchandra. (Birth) 1894.
        - Shridhar. (1896–1928.)
    - Govindrao. (1835-1904)
  - Two others.
- Three other

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD AND STUDENT-DAYS

ON the 23rd day of the month of July in the year 1856, Tilak was born at Ratnagiri in the house of one Sadoba Gore. According to the Hindu Calendar, this date was Monday, the 6th day of the Black Half of Ashadha of Shak 1778. The exact time of his birth is an hour after the sun-rise. Believers in Astrology might note that the moment of his coming into this world was not marked by any remarkably auspicious conjunction of the stars. It is said that, but for one or two specialities, the position of the stars is quite of the ordinary. More numerous predictions probably might not have been hazarded from the horoscopes of other people than from Lokamanya Tilak's. But at the same time it must be observed that hardly as many false prophecies as in the case of Tilak might have been made. Tilak's father was of the orthodox persuasion and a believer in Astrology. He himself had got cast a so-called scientific horoscope of his son, and had also noted certain prognostications in it. It will be not a little interesting to learn that Tilak was held to have been destined to marry twice. But that it was directly belied by fact is well-known.

Before Tilak's rise to fame, the stars under which he was born were allowed to sleep quietly or to pass unshaken the even tenour of their lives. But as he appeared on the horizon of greatness, and as he tended to grow more and more effulgent, the stars that had committed the offence of bringing forth Tilak, were twisted and tortured out of their places without any thought of cruelty to them. But it appears that these innocent constellations had decided as if to rise in rebellion against and defeat these astrologers who had so lightly played with them. Their revenge of course lay in the falsification of the foretellings of their oppressors. Many facts and events in Tilak's life being quite known and familiar to all, these star-hunters enjoyed good game with them, and the stars too did not interfere with them, though even the rules of Astrology were required to be manipulated to suit their convenience and justify the actual happenings in Tilak's life. But prophecy as regards the future the stars never looked on with favour, and they took keen delight in thoroughly disproving all the vaticinations of the enterprising band of the traders in the heavenly bodies. Personally Tilak had little faith in Astrology. He used to consider indulgence in this kind of pursuit as only a time-killing pastime for leisure hours. At any rate he never permitted this hobby to touch, or to affect in the least, his

habits of resoluteness and industry. He did believe in the influence of the stars. But his policy of conduct with respect to them was that they should move in their own orbits, and we should move in our own; that is to say, his policy was based on the wholesome principle of 'Live and let live.'

Three daughters had preceded Tilak in this world. When he was born, the eldest daughter (the mother of Mr. D. V. Vidwans, the present Manager of the *Kesari* and *Mahratta* Office) had already been given away in marriage. Tilak's mother fondly believed that the son born to her was the golden fruit she had received as a reward for her extreme penance and devotion in worship of the God Sun. She was by nature a little emaciated, and it may not be a matter for wonder, if she imagined to have added an inch or two to her physical stature or to have conveyed a spate of flush to her sunken cheeks by her rejoicings at the fulfilment of her austerely practised vows. Though Tilak was known in common parlance as Balwant, his real name was Keshav. Of course, he was named after his great grand-father. But the endearing domestic sobriquet 'Bal' by which he was caressingly called, stuck to him permanently through all his after-life.

Like the astrologers, Tilak's credulous admirers take delight in depicting his childhood also in as glowing colours as they do the

latter part of his life. But it does not appear that the early years of his life were specially distinguished for anything save his intellect and stubbornness. His scholarship in Sanskrit was his father's legacy, and his memory was exceptionally retentive. Even in childhood he was taught to recite Sanskrit verses, and the sum of money which he succeeded in totting up at the rate of one pie a verse may possibly have reached a rupee or two. He hated dining out, and it is said that when once his teacher falsely accused him of having done so he left the class in a fit of resentment and wended his way home. In 1861 Tilak was put to school. Bhikaji Keshav Patwardhan had the honour of being his first teacher. In these early days of his life with a painstaking and learned father at home, Tilak made rapid blooming progress in his studies.

Before his thread-ceremony, Tilak was well up in the rudiments of grammar, literature and arithmetic. At the time of the ceremony, even the priests and preceptors that had gathered, nodded their heads in admiration at the precocity of the boy. Two years later, Gangadharpant came to Poona as an Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector. Poona is, by all accounts, a favourite haunt of the Muses. In Poona flow the springs of Castalia and from this very hallowed soil does the mount of Parnasus display its eternal

shining peak. By the transfer of Gangadharpant to Poona in service, Tilak secured conveniences which his father could not provide and which, when he himself got them, he had to give up owing to domestic necessities. Even if it were not so, Gangadharpant would certainly have kept his son at school at Ratnagiri High School, then reputed highly for efficiently coaching up its alumni, with a view to giving his son an opportunity to achieve scholarly distinction.

But by a stroke of good fortune, Tilak gained every facility for his study. He began his education in a place like Poona. He had a father who took enormous delight in training his son with great care, and he was in circumstances, moreover, well enough to enable him to have at his elbow in sufficient number books and such other necessary instruments of study. This confluence of conveniences and advantages did not, however, long remain undisturbed. The ever jealous Fortune glanced at it with her green eye. Gangadharpant, Tilak's father, breathed his last in 1872. But the first bricks of the edifice of Tilak's education had been truly and firmly laid, and Gangadharpant had taught his son all that he could, outside of the school. When Tilak went to the English school, he was familiar with arithmetic, algebra and the first two books of Euclid. In Sanskrit also, before he had seen scarcely ten summers,

he had acquired the ability to grasp and explain the meaning of easy readings from Sanskrit.

At the age of ten, Tilak was being just initiated into his English studies, when the death of his mother occurred. He was thenceforth looked after by the wife of his uncle. Uncle Govindrao had passed most of his boyhood in Konkan, and he could not but be only very meagrely educated. Management of the household in Konkan was his chief occupation. For some time he served as a school-master, first at Sawantwadi and next in Poona. He was younger by 15 years than Gangadharrao, but as he was older than Tilak by about a score of years, the work of taking care of Tilak naturally devolved upon him. When Tilak was in his sixteenth year, Gangadharpant passed away. Tilak, thus orphaned, was solely in the charge of his uncle. In fact, however, the uncle had not much to do in this behalf, as Tilak resided in the college hostels in Poona, and for some days in Bombay also. After taking his degree of LL. B., he got a teachership for himself which set him up independently in life. When Tilak began his work in the New English School, the uncle and the nephew separated. Gangadharpant's will had already marked off the shares of each. But the uncle for some more years managed the household affairs of Tilak. Govindrao was the only elderly sur-

viving member in the family of Tilak, and needless to say, he loved Tilak with the love of a father to his only son. There could be little by way of an offer of advice from the uncle and a practice of obedience by the nephew, as Tilak was a host in himself and his uncle was comparatively uneducated, though perhaps a little more experienced. It may nevertheless be stated that, if there was a single aged relative of Tilak whose heart thrilled with delight at hearing the profuse praise bestowed upon him by people, and who, like Niobe, was all tears, when, in 1897, the sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him it was this uncle alone. Tilak always comported himself towards his uncle in a humble and respectful manner; never left any of his uncle's wishes unfulfilled; nor, though formally divided, did he ever make his uncle feel the twinge of this voluntary separation which was, to all intents and purposes, more apparent than real. Govindrao was not learned and his two sons also were strangers to letters. Becomingly enough, therefore, Tilak utilised his own share also of his father's property for the benefit of his needy uncle. Tilak's uncle was very systematic in keeping accounts. We have a specimen of his accounts from which we see in what way he managed the household. The house-rent was a rupee and a half per month. The family could do with milk worth Rs. 4 and the total expenditure of

the month does not seem to have gone beyond Rs. 40. In the accounts of 1875, for the month of June and July, there is an entry which indicates that Tilak used to get in the Deccan College a monthly scholarship of Rs. 10.

When Gangadharpant came to Poona along with his ten-year-old son, he lived in the house of Datar, a contractor, near the Tulshibag Temple. It appears that till 1904, when Tilak finally established his family in Gaikawad Wada purchased from His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, he had to change houses for more than half a dozen times. From Datar's house, Gangadharpant, after making a short stay in Sohani's Wada, removed to Bhat's house in which Gangadharpant closed his earthly career. When in 1881 the New English School was moved from Moroba Dada's Wada to Gadre's Wada, Tilak took his quarters in Tambe's Wada. Here was a long halt till 1886. The journey began again, and Tilak sheltered his family in Narayan Peth in Mande's Wada. After 1872, Tilak rented an outhouse in Shrimant Vinchurkar's buildings, where he continued till the ownership of Gaikawad Wada passed into his hands. This is, in short, the history of Tilak's itinerant domicile.

Most of Tilak's English studies were completed in the Poona City School. He completed three standards within two years,

though he was not on good terms with the teachers in the school. It is no unusual phenomenon that things should come to this pass, where the student is intelligent and stubborn and those who wield the rod are wanting in salutary tactfulness. Mr. K. A. Guruji who has written a small but vivid Marathi brochure on Tilak's early life has something very engaging to say in this connection. "When the teacher gave a sum in arithmetic, Tilak would do it orally; when he asked boys to put down something on the slate, this pupil would question its necessity; the teacher would insist on the use of a memoranda book, but Tilak would refuse to handle one; the teacher would ask him to write on the black board, the pupil would not finger the chalk-stick, but answer the query straight off." Once in a dictation-exercise Tilak wrote out the Sanskrit word "sant" in three different ways. The teacher found fault with Tilak's methods, and the quarrel over that became so fierce that the Head-master had to be called in to arbitrate. Tilak never felt at ease, until a case in which he was concerned was decided in his favour. There was little wonder that by this behaviour of his, Tilak came to be regarded at school as a boy, clever but querulous, talented but obstinate.

In 1869 Tilak was studying in the fifth form of the Poona High School. By this time, Gangadharpant got himself transferred from

Poona to Thana, because he could not pull on well with the Deputy Inspector of Poona, Sitaram Vishwanath Patwardhan. Mr. Jacob was the Head-master of the High School then. In the capacity of a Head-master, Mr. Jacob was a veritable Martinet and during his term, discipline was valued more than intelligence. There arose a difference about a book between Tilak and the Sanskrit teachers. Mr. Jacob put his weight on the side of the Shastris, and, as a result, Tilak had to take leave of the High School, for a few days though. Thereafter he joined the famous school conducted by Baba Gokhale. But when Mr. Jacob was succeeded by Mr. Kunte, Tilak again went back to the same High School.

In the matter of studies, Tilak may be described more as a boy of an independent way of thinking, rather than as whimsical or headstrong. It looks as if in student-days, he did not reach the high-water mark of an ideal student, as in after-life all his acts were directed to occupy the top-most rung of the ladder. It may be he was not fired with the ambition of always taking the first rank in the class; perhaps the ambition may not have been realised. Despite this fact, however, he had convinced all that he had in him some exceptional qualities and intelligence which his comrades-in-book were not gifted with, some skill in doing a

thing which his fellows might vainly try to exhibit. There were not a few boys in his class who easily got the better of him in routine matters and work-a-day studies. But never did he bear being beaten by them in his flashes of mother-wit or in the composition of Sanskrit verses. Those who go through his Sanskrit poetic exercises at school or college, would easily realize the truth of these remarks. In an examination paper, he would solve only the most difficult problems and leave his examiners in wonderment to infer that an examinee who could do the harder job must *ipso facto* be capable of performing the easier one.

While Tilak was yet in the English school, his marriage was solemnized in 1871. His wife, like him, hailed from Konkan, and the ceremony too was performed at Chikhalgaon. The bride came from the family of Bal from Ladghar in Dapoli Taluka. Her parents, like most families in Konkan, were not markedly well off, but had acquired a reputation for hospitality and courtesy, the two grand virtues of every householder worth the name. The family was also known for its religious charities. A story related by Mr. Guruji in his booklet is to the point here. In Konkan, owing to frequency of thefts, people generally hide their golden ornaments in heaps of corn at night and take them out by day. Once it so happened in the

house of Bal that when a beggar paused at his door, some one unwittingly brought a handful of corn to be dropped into the beggar's expectant bowl. A golden trinket was found shining in the charitable dole. Superstitiously looking upon it as dedicated for charity, Bal unhesitatingly allowed it to be given away along with the corn. Well, this is however by the way. In the performance of Tilak's wedding, the only one unlucky circumstance was that both the bride and the bride-groom had been bereft of their respective mothers who alone constitute the life and soul of the ceremonies for the consecration of new relationships and who alone can derive the most pleasant entertainment from this orchestra of social enjoyments in which, the daughter of the one and the son of the other, are chosen to play so important a part. A biographer of Tilak has noted in passing that on an occasion when some marital presents were to be made to Tilak, he demanded from his father-in-law not a gold ring or a cycle or even a wrist-watch, but a parcel of books of use and worth to him either for his immediate study or for future perusal.

Before the celebration of his marriage Tilak's grand-father had expired at Benares, and soon after it, on the 31st of August, 1872, his father too followed suit. There was, however, no reason why Tilak's studies should suffer a check on account of the deaths of his

father and grand-father. It would be truer to say that he cared for himself than that his uncle was much concerned about his welfare and his schooling. At the close of 1872, Tilak appeared for the Matriculation Examination and easily got through it. Here too he pursued his policy of trying and solving only the more difficult of the questions and discarding the others when the quota of marks fixed for passing had, he thought, been made up. He enrolled himself as a student of the Deccan College in 1873. His method of study, however, did not undergo any alteration, though he was now elevated to the college. He read what he liked without forgetting that, though an evil, examinations were a necessary and inevitable evil, and that therefore, they must be passed. He never burnt the midnight oil nor did he carry loads of note-books for memorising in his satchel. At the same time it may be pointed out that, like Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, he did not condemn the prescribed texts as untouchables.

He was always eclectic in his reading. He was accustomed to devoting a short definite period of his time to his study, and the rest of it he used to while away in discussions and conversations on various subjects, both grave and gay. His first year in the college he had of purpose resolved to set apart for the building up of his rickety physique. Study

occupied only the second or the third place in importance in his daily time-table. His mornings he delightfully passed in the gymnasium or in swimming; the evenings saw him, heart and soul, at play, and the shades of the night gave the signal for the approach of free chats and unending gossips with his equals, not unspiced, in some measure, with banter and ridicule. From this distribution of the day it is clear that there was little time left for traffic with books and matters collegiate. Often did Tilak play truant. He minded to attend the lecture-room, only if the lecture was considered by him to be specially worthy of his attendance. Once or twice he was caught by the Principal while leaving his class-room after the roll-call and when asked to explain his conduct, he bluntly replied that he was not going to appear for examination that year but was simply keeping the term. Tilak had deliberately insured failure in the first year. But though he failed in the college examination, he was thoroughly successful in the examination of physical culture on which he had set his heart and for which he had sacrificed the year.

In Tilak's college days, Mr. Jinsiwale was one of the " Fellows " there. His lectures in the college-room were really of a piece with those from the public platform. His learning was unquestionably so profound that

no plummet could find its depth. His reading was as vast as the sea. But the angles of vision of the examiners in the university on the one hand and of this lecturer on the other, unfortunately flew at a tangent from each other. It was difficult for students to pick up from the whole forest of knowledge which Professor Jinsiwale raised before them what trees and plants, what blossoms and flowers were exactly necessary for success in the examination hall. The lectures of Professor Jinsiwale can fitly be compared to a volume of the *Historians' History of the World* or of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The fun of it, however, was that he insisted on his listeners assiduously taking down notes of his torrential and vasty performance. Though the more simple among students were overjoyed at the sight of the sheaves of memoranda they bound together, the critical visibly writhed under the boredom. An occasion came when Tilak had to differ from Prof. Jinsiwale. But Tilak, when an opportunity offered itself, got the Professor convinced that he was not, after all, a student of the level, conventional order. We are told that once Prof. Jinsiwale set his students the subject of *Matru Vilap* (Mother's sorrow) for exercise in Sanskrit poetry. In spite of the competition of recognized scholars of Sanskrit like Mahadeo Shivaram Apte, Tilak's verses got the palm from Jinsiwale. Tilak had really speaking no

penchant for poetry. And naturally he abandoned writing poetry in the college itself, never to return to it again. To say that he had an absolute contempt for music or the other fine arts, may perhaps sound a little harsh and somewhat unjust to him. But it may be presumed without fear of contradiction that he had no sensitive ear for music, nor for poetry. He also hated putting pencil on paper, and this hatred prevented him from taking down notes either of Professor Jinsiwale's lectures or, for the matter of that, any body else's. Nevertheless, when he once resolved upon the accomplishment of a certain task, he never paused without doing it in the highest way and to his fullest satisfaction. Once he took it into his head to draw up a synopsis of the reigns of Queens Mary and Elizabeth. Scarcely was the decision taken when he fell to the self-imposed work, with the result that he read about a dozen books on the subject and prepared a comprehensive *precis* which was copied, word for word, by his class-mates. Similarly, when on another occasion a grammatical point was hot on the tapis, Tilak put together quite a new, substantial treatise bearing on the issue in question. This essay too was highly thought of in academic circles. Thus were the "love's labours" of Tilak not certainly "lost", but beyond doubt splendidly successful. To be brief, he was prudentially spare and sagaciously selective in his studies.

The firmament of his academic career does not ostensibly scintillate with the stars of high classes, honours, or scholarships, but he was acknowledged to be, according to the contemporary standard of scholarship, a prodigy in Mathematics and Sanskrit, towering head and shoulders above his companions.

Tilak had purposely devoted the first year of his college-life to physical development. In fact, he did little else during that period. At the end of the year his health was so completely improved as to constitute almost a revolution in his former self. At the beginning he had the appearance of a diseased or neglected child with a diminutive head, a belly bulging out, legs not bigger than lead pencils; in brief, the whole sculpture of his body was of a puny character. But all this picture was changed *toto caelo*. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare was his companion in his manly exercises. With such corresponding habits of each other, they became life long associates and practised together at wrestling or boating or swimming. After the daily round of their exercises, they pommelled each other in order to test their growing muscles. These two gymnasts carried their competition in health even to the kitchen-room. Though it may be only metaphorically true to attribute ears to walls, in their college-days the violently scraped walls of their club-

rooms bore tongues all about them, which spoke of the athletic romps and frolicks of this pair of Castor and Pollux. Their contemporaries wittily tell us that due to the eating competition of these two gladiators, often had the culinary firm of the club-cook to go into voluntary liquidation! And there was no wonder. College-days, as a matter of fact, constitute the season most favourable to the development of the physique of the youth. And when the natural process of growth is helped by physical exercises, the acquisition of a store of muscular energy and nervous strength becomes as easy as the accumulation of knowledge, both of which kinds of wealth are never-failing companions in the arduous struggles of life that await all students ahead. At least in the case of Tilak, we can assert that the manly exercises he took on the college-ground stood better to carry him triumphantly over all "the troublous storms that toss the private state, and render life unsweet," than the books that he had perused either in the class-room or in the hostel. Otherwise, he would hardly have been able to bear the prodigious physical and mental worry through the ordeal of which he had to pass not once or twice, but incessantly in his tempestuous career.

Tilak is not known to have handled either the racket or the bat. But he heartily liked

boating and swimming. The former, of course, he had to give up when he left his college. But love of swimming seems, as it were, to have been bred in his bones. He is reported to have once crossed the Ganges at Benares, and there is nothing surprising in the story told by Mr. Guruji, that he used to float his body over the surface of water for hours together, with unwet bread in his hands. Long walks in the evening were not in his line, and during all his mature years we can scarcely reckon ten or twelve occasions when he had formally gone out for a walk. His rambles in the precincts of the college were, however, one of the noticeable features of his college-life. Sometimes these lasted far into the night; for Tilak was never in the habit of lying down with the lamb and rising with the lark.

He had an uncommonly vivacious and jocular temper, and his night-watches often opened up the sluice-gates of this ebullient juvenile passion. Generally speaking, all boys at this stage of life have an itch for cutting humorous capers or playing innocent mischiefs. Was there any one of delicate health who protected himself rather too apprehensively? Tilak would rush into his room and put him to the rack, as it were, till he was robust. Was there a friend who used patent medicines for the recruitment of health? Tilak would break his bottles to

pieces and drag him away out of the room to the play-ground. There was a 'gay Lothario' among the students who loved to make a bed of roses in summer to lie down upon. Tilak would storm into his room and trample the flowers under his feet. All these doings of Tilak brought him the significant title of the "Devil" and in like fashion, he was also given the nick-name of "Blunt" borrowed from that year's text book, Scott's *Kenilworth*, for his brusqueness of manners, directness of words and outspokenness of tongue.

From the psychological point of view, the college, especially the mess-room, is a most attractive place. Here we see a museum, better still, a laboratory of types of characters acting and reacting upon one another. Young boys with a stock of raw knowledge gather together and perhaps for the first time, enjoy a kind of freedom from restraint in behaviour. There is no elderly person who can command respect from them or to whom they should look up with the awe due to a superior. It is here that the idiosyncrasies of students find their fullest expression. On one side, we see students who are initiated by their friends into the habits of smoking and drinking, who are habituated to the use of costliest dishes, who have turned into veritable Epicureans; and lastly, who have developed the vices of selfishness and insolence. On the other side, it is on this well-manured

soil and under this invigorating atmosphere that liberal education of the college leads to the bourgeoning of high youthful sentiments and noble feelings in the minds of students and it is here that the ideal of selflessly devoting their life to some excellent cause of the nation or of service to society first begins to glitter on their virgin horizon. It must be admitted that instances of one extreme or the other are, considering the total number of students, very rare. But, at any rate, the seeds of either of these feelings are sown primarily in the college. Most of the students in colleges belong to a class which steers clear of the Scylla of one extreme and the Charybdis of another, and are engrossed, for the most part, with the thought of how to make the two ends meet after they have settled in life.

In extreme cases, however, a principle is always put to the most crucial and real test and on examples of the highest or the lowest degree in a matter under consideration does popular judgment, truthfully to a large extent depends. Whether higher or liberal education is fit to receive the nectar of praise or the poison of censure over its head from the public in general, must rightly depend on the conduct of students who, standing on the pinnacle of glory or in the abyss of shame, make themselves

the cynosures or the light-houses to the whole world. In rice-land, the ground of a selected field is first burnt and seeds broadcast in it. Sprouts begin to peep out in course of time; some of them rise high in the normal way, and others die out in caducity. But a few of them, however, are so well nourished and wave their bursting ears so proudly in the air, that the plants are sampled out for exhibition in an agricultural show, being ultimately used as the choicest seeds. Verily, college is, thus, a seed-bed of a like nature on the soil of education.

Along with Tilak there were more than a hundred students in the Deccan College. But the number of those who made a name for themselves so as to point a moral or adorn a tale can be counted on the fingers. Very few also are those who can be said to have done a lasting memorable service to the public, though perhaps they may not have got the opportunity to win reputation or glory for themselves. We cannot exactly say how many there were among Tilak's class-fellows who sunk into oblivion by taking a course exactly contrary to the one adopted by Tilak, or by auctioning their education away for execrable purposes. Some from among them have certainly come to the fore, either as pleaders or Sub-judges or moneyed men; and they may also be said to have cheerfully and ably discharged their worldly or domestic

responsibilities. But they had no superhuman spark in them, and even they themselves have admitted, without hesitation, that Tilak alone dedicated his liberal education to the service of his mother-country and society as none else did. A large majority of them go to swell the ranks of

.....the common rout
That wandering loose about
Grow up and perish, like the summer fly,
Heads without name, no more remembered.

There were, beyond doubt, students by the score, who passed through the examinations with greater confidence or brighter glory than Tilak, or who, like expert marksmen, could infallibly bring by their well-aimed shots the game of scholarships down to their feet. But none of them could hold the candle to Tilak in respect of his unparalleled greatness and high public esteem. The world naturally yields a higher place in its esteem to the use of the intellect than to the intellect itself. The test of a pudding could not, in the nature of things, be otherwhere than in eating. Even so the worth of human gifts and worldly goods does necessarily depend on the way in which they are rendered instrumental in serving humanity.

Among the contemporaries of Tilak in the College are to be found the names of Messrs. Sharangapani of Baroda, Daji Sahib Khare, Sir M. B. Chaubal, the

Hon'ble G. S. Khaparde, the late Sir Narayan Chandawarkar, Mr. Setna, Prof. Dastur, and the late Professors Agarkar and Apte. The mere mention of these names is enough to point out how different was the way of life chosen by Tilak, Agarkar and Apte from that pursued by others. Among the professors in the College at that time, only two, namely Prof. Keropant Chhatre and Prof. Schutte, are said to be popular among students. Prof. Chhatre was a self-made and self-educated man. He had made Mathematics and Astronomy his own chosen subjects; and the very fact that he, though not highly qualified in English, was raised to the position of the Acting Principal, shows that Government also had respect for his learning. He has written a research thesis on "Sun-spots and the rain" which can be read in one of the issues of the quarterly of the Sarvajanik Sabha. His plain living was one of his other merits. His behaviour towards the young and the old was always straight-forward, humble and bland. A good man shall be "like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in season: his leaf shall not wither". Prof. Chhatre was, however, something more for students. His fruit did not wait upon the season. A needy student's arrival was season enough. He was in many ways charitable to students who approached him without fear as they would

approach their fathers, whether for monetary assistance or for solution of a difficulty. After his death Government granted a life-pension of Rs. 100 per month to his widow, and the public subscription for his memorial also reached the sum of Rs. 11,000. Both from the students and Government Prof. Chhatre had won golden opinions by his invariable goodness and geniality.

The second popular professor was Prof. Schutte. He used to teach Economics, History, Ethics and other subjects. His method of teaching was independent and critical. For one term, Tilak had joined the Elphinstone College in Bombay. There Prof. Hawthornwaite used to teach Mathematics. He had studied Mathematics, as dogs do the Nile, and his knowledge was only superficial. For this reason, Tilak came back to Poona, and passed in 1876 the B.A. in the first class. In 1877 Tilak appeared for the M.A. with Mathematics. But he was plucked and then he turned his eyes towards the LL.B. In 1879 he got through this examination. Five or six years after the starting of the Fergusson College, again Tilak had an idea to add the professorial degree of Master of A'rts to his name. But this year too he met with the same fate. Soon after, he gave up the idea altogether, taking his college course to have finally closed. It cannot be divined why after the first failure in the M.A., examination,

he at once decided to appear for the LL.B. It is possible to suppose that the idea of devoting his life to education as a teacher or a professor, had dawned in his mind before he took the B.A. degree. It appears that when Tilak was in the Deccan College studying for the LL. B. in 1879, he, with Agarkar, conceived the plan of starting a school.* Meanwhile, perhaps with a view to practising in the High Court, Tilak may have undertaken the study of law. Most of his friends had taken the royal road to the LL. B. Few only had turned their steps towards what they may have imagined to be the blind alley of the M.A. Besides, the example of the late V. N. Mandlik could not but have influenced graduates from Konkan. Mandlik carried on a lucrative practice; he had risen high in Government's estimation, and people also looked towards him as towards a leader. Though he was not the first among the learned, he was unquestionably in the first rank and by his researches and essays, he had made a mark in literature. Before Ferozeshah Mehta came to the fore, Mandlik was considered to be the political leader of Bombay. More than that Lion of Bombay, Mandlik was singularly august in appearance and indifferent to fear or favour in his behaviour both towards the the people and Government. Mandlik came from the same Taluka which comprised

* As to Tilak's method of conversation refer to Appendix A.

within its area the Tilak family. And besides Mandlik was the friend of Tilak's father. The intimacy between the two was not more close or hearty than that between " a full man and a fasting man" as the saying goes. But Mandlik had noticed the bright promising boy and by his constant visits to Tilak's house he had become as familiar with him as with his father. We may, therefore, very well conclude that Tilak possibly took the tangential trail to the LL.B., as much from the example of Mandlik, as from Mandlik's own advice, given in a spirit of well-wishing for the young Tilak, as a mark of sweet recollection of friendship with his father.

While studying for the LL. B., Tilak paid particular attention to Hindu law. He read almost all the important works on Hinduism with commentaries thereon. At this subject Tilak looked not simply from the view-point of the examination, but with an eye to mastering it in all its aspects. In his social controversies his profound knowledge of the principles of Hindu law and religion were of immense use to him. Tilak certainly possessed the knack of studying a subject on the spur of the moment, but when he wrote or spoke on theological questions he never seems to have felt himself to be quite a stranger in a strange land.

CHAPTER III

PRE-TILAK MAHARASHTRA

THE public life of Tilak must really be said to begin in January 1880 with the inauguration of the New English School. But to understand fully the significance of Tilak's inspiration for public service, we must have a clear idea of the previous history of Maharashtra. In fact, without having a glimpse of this back-ground, the observer will not be in a position to truly appreciate and assess the value of the main picture itself. This back-ground, of course, was not prepared by a single stroke or by one sweep of the brush. For fifty years prior to the rise of Tilak the work was being done. All attempts towards the accomplishment of this task may not have been successful to an equal degree. But surely every one of them was definitely marking an advance over its predecessor, till at last when Tilak appeared upon the scene the canvas was spread before him in perfect readiness for him to begin his work.

The process of preparation of the Maharashtra mind for the reception of Tilak's message was similar to the process of a photograph. At first we see only certain faint traces on the paper; then the outline grows deeper and more distinct; the features thereafter begin

to peep out; the limbs and the dress develop themselves, and lastly, even the sparkle in the eye seems to glisten. If we cast a glance at the happenings of the half-century before Tilak, we observe a continuous process of some such gradual growth of public life in the history of Maharashtra. There is no doubt that it is the qualities of this background, coupled with the triumphant merits of Tilak's own career, that made the whole picture one of the most charming and the most impressive spectacles. We shall therefore give a bird's-eye view of the pre-Tilak half-century.

Tilak entered college in 1872 and left this world in 1920. Going back fifty years from 1872, we come to the year 1822. The rule of the Peshwas had then just ended. And that date may very well be fixed upon as a point from which to have a Pisgah sight, as it were, of the subsequent events. After the fall of the Peshwas, respect for them soon disappeared so completely that even the news of the death of Baji Rao II failed to secure a prominent publicity or special notice. British offices were located in the Shanwar Wada—the Peshwas' residence itself—and another of their historic castellated buildings, the Budhwar Wada, found comfortably seated on its verandah persons reading English news in English newspapers with gusto. The last vestige of any memory of the Peshwas was

to be faintly observed in the popular belief that the ghosts of the historic personages stalked about the arches of the Wada or its ramparts. The Gadi of Satara outlasted the Peshwas by thirty years. It disappeared in 1848. The States of Gwalior and Indore, however, remained in a vigorous and prosperous condition. They retained the respect people in Maharashtra felt for them. Baroda too succeeded in attracting the affection of Maharashtrians. But Malharrao Gaikawad had not with him the hearty sympathies of Maharashtra. The lesser Rajahs, Maharajahas and Sardars appear to have been in a worse condition. Ignorance, indolence and prodigality had captured them so completely that in a poignant description of their state given by Gopal Hari Deshmukh in 1849 he seriously warned them to give up those habits and reform their conduct so as to qualify themselves to be reckoned as human beings.

The Brahmins of those days may be divided into two classes, one comprising the priests and pandits and the other clerks and incumbents of higher posts. The former class, though prosperous in the reign of the last of the Peshwas, was fast falling in public estimation. In fact, this class came to be regarded as a reproach to society. The latter, however, was prosperous because it was vitally necessary for the foreign

rulers. The maintenance of this class was essential for the new administrative system which was being developed and consolidated. The British rulers had to depend to a very great extent on this class. The possession of power by this class and the inevitable dependence upon it by the new rulers made it assume high and autocratic airs. Members of this class abused their authority and among contemporary literature there are skits written against them and their ways.

The British rulers began to educate the people of Maharashtra soon after the passing of the Peshwas. Education may have been undertaken to prepare an increasing number of men for administrative duties, to westernise Indians, train them up to be permanent customers of British goods and to convert them to Christianity. These motives may have formed some elements in the British policy of imparting education to Indians. The object of conversion of the people to Christianity did not succeed. At the first blush of English education, the glamour of Christianity seemed to appeal to those receiving it, but soon it faded and even the Prarthana Samajists who were easily susceptible to conversion, found out that the Bible also did not satisfy all the doubts and difficulties which the Gita had, in their opinion, raised and left undecided. The Christian missionaries seemed to enjoy the

prospect of a bumper harvest. They started a comprehensive propaganda. Printing-presses for flooding the country with books and pamphlets were set up. Preachers repaired to street corners and lectured to the passers-by; even indigenous methods of propaganda like the *Kirtans* and the *Kathas* were requisitioned and water-tanks of the Hindus were deliberately defiled.

All this vigorous propaganda, however, proved practically sterile. In 1865 a learned Hindu wrote:—"The disheartening disproportion between the unremitting labours of the missionaries to Christianize India and the success with which they have hitherto been attended is sufficient to cool the most violent ebullitions of religious enthusiasm." The people of Maharashtra had very early realised the evil effects of the missionary propaganda on Hinduism. The service of Vishnuboa Brahmachari in this respect, before Tilak, is recorded indelibly in the history of Maharashtra. His religious discourses on the sea-side in Bombay between 1865 and 1871, his violent disputes with Christian missionaries, his forceful controversies with social reformers are still ringing in the ears of Maharashtra. The missionaries ultimately recognized that they had almost an impossibly hard row to hoe. Yet they did not slacken their generous efforts in the field of education. The propagation of Christianity apart,

it is not to be imagined that Englishmen had no fears about the injurious effects of education on the stability of the government they were striving to consolidate. In fact, Lieutenant Briggs, in his memorable conversation with Mount Stuart Elphinstone, did presage such an alarming result when he saw some newly published Marathi books lying beside Elphinstone. The gist of his remark was that those books would pave the way for the Britishers finally to depart from India.

In spite of such prognostications education advanced under the direction of the new rulers. Elphinstone stopped the distribution of 'Dakshina' (free gift of money) and endowed with that saving a Sanskrit School in 1821 in Poona in the Vishrambag Wada. An English class was attached to this school in 1842. And ultimately in 1868 the Deccan College rose out of this school and was housed in its newly built august buildings. The English school remained in the Vishrambag Wada and survived long as the Government High School. Old Marathi-knowing pandits were employed in translating Sanskrit books into Marathi. English-knowing persons like Krishnashastri Chiplunkar and Keropant Chhatre were given superior posts of the Principal of the Training College and the Government Reporter. As English advanced in the school and college curriculum, Sanskrit lost its dominant place

and Marathi receded far into the background. In 1858 Edwin Arnold wrote "most of the advanced students are better scholars in English than in Marathi." Really speaking, the prize for a Marathi essay in memory of Major Candy had been till recently the sole survivor to narrate the sad story of the extinction of Marathi. If such was the case in Poona, need it be said what it was in Bombay?

The University of Bombay was established twenty years before Tilak graduated. The first calendar of the University was published in 1861. It gives its history from the year 1859. Since 1857 students were sent up for the matriculation. The number of matriculates increased yearly by leaps and bounds. In 1876 it rose to 1100. The number of graduates also mounted up, though by slow degrees. From 3 in 1863 it went to 40 in 1877. Those who matriculated in 1859 include among them the famous school-master Bȧba Gokhale, Bhandarkar, Vaman Abaji Modak and M. G. Ranade. Among the students of 1862 we read the name of Madhavrao Kunte. Among those who took the degree of LL.B. in 1866, there was M. G. Ranade standing out in the forefront. Before Tilak graduated, 179 students had taken out the B. A. degree. In the year when Tilak passed the LL.B. examination there were in the Bombay Presidency about 5,000 schools and nearly 300,000 students. The

number of educational institutions comprised 8 Colleges, 48 High Schools, 177 Middle Schools, 1 Art School, 284 Girl Schools and the rest Primary Schools. The proportion of students was: Brahmins 23, other Hindus 59 and Mahommedans 10 out of every 100. From certain complaints in the newspapers it seems that people noticed even then some of the harmful effects of the system of education. The knowledge of the evils of that system does not seem to have become deep enough to produce reaction against the very spread of education. In 1871 a women's organization was started in Poona. Female education had not made much progress. With respect to female education there were two sides uncompromisingly opposed to each other. This women's organization was not looked on by people with favour, and even the *Dnyanprakash*—an organ of the social reformers—damned it with faint praise; for it remarked that the establishment of such an institution was like asking a man to run while he was hardly able to walk.

The convocation address of the year in which Tilak took his B. A. degree did not contain anything worthy of mention. But the address delivered by Sir Richard Temple as Chancellor when Tilak took the degree of LL.B., was an important pronouncement. Sir Richard Temple was a friend of education and he insisted on preference being

given to educated persons over the uneducated in the matter of selection for service. The students going out of the University portals were developing a broadened outlook. They did not rest content with embracing Government service, but traversed beyond that charmed circle. The address of the Chancellor helped this widening vision. The preparation of the young generation for being absorbed into Government service and industrial concerns was the aim the University had then kept before it. Sir Richard Temple on that occasion declared the goal of the University to be the fitting out of students to be perfect citizens. He said, "I should consider the success of natives as civil administrators to be the truest test of that combined mental and moral training which our education seeks to give."

In comparison with Brahmins, the non-Brahmins were a little backward. But it can be said that love of education among non-Brahmins seems to have born a generation earlier than that to which Tilak belonged. Jotirao Fule was the pioneer in that community. He was born in 1827 and he seems to have developed a love for knowledge even in his childhood. He had a fair acquaintance with English and, at least in his early career, he said that his learning was meant for overthrowing the British Government, and that he had received his inspiration from the

Brahmins. In his mature years, he changed the current of his thoughts and founded what is known as the Satya-shodhak Samaj with the object of extirpating the hated class of Brahmins. He is the author of more than half a dozen Marathi books aiming at the improvement of his community. The method of argument used in them and the language in which they are clothed are far from the refined. Nevertheless, his books form the scripture of the Satya-shodhak Samaj even to-day. He intended to start a newspaper. But his efforts in that direction did not prove fruitful. In 1877, however, one of his friends succeeded in establishing a weekly conducted with varying success. The point that is sought to be emphasised here is that, before the starting of the New English School, public agitation had begun in the non-Brahmin community with a special organ of its own.

These non-Brahmins seem to have appreciated at its proper worth the sacrifice undergone in those days for the service of the nation by Tilak and Agarkar. They expressed this appreciation by participating in the function of according a reception to Tilak and Agarkar after their release from jail. It is said that Jotirao Fule exercised his influence in arranging for a personal surety in the Kolhapur case against Tilak. He was also present at the famous Shivaji memo-

rial meeting held under the presidentship of the Chief of Chaphal in Poona. The stinging criticisms which Chiplunkar wrote in his monumental Marathi magazine *Nibandh-mala* against the books of Fule were largely justified. But it cannot be gainsaid that in that period Jotirao rose to eminence, not indeed by erudition of a high order, but simply by his sincerity in the cause of public service in general and his educational activities in particular. The development of literature was not more remarkable than the progress of education. Printing presses were very few; the production of books meagre; the number of libraries exceedingly small. The record sale of a newspaper in those days was only 1650. Some of the newspapers of those days like the *Dnyanprakash, Subodh Patrika, Dnyanodaya* are still in existence; others have become defunct. One Ganpat Krishnaji had made for himself a name in Maharashtra as the father of Marathi types and he may therefore be rightly regarded as the 'Caxton' of Maharashtra. The smallness of the number of newspapers is to be accounted for by the backwardness in education and the prohibitively high postal charges. Some of the most eminent persons like Krishnashastri Chiplunkar, Baba Gokhale, M. G. Ranade, Vishnu Parsharam Pandit and others were associated with the *Dnyanprakash* and the *Indupraksh.*

The spread of education was gradually producing its effect on men and manners in Maharashtra. A change was coming over the dress and the daily behaviour of the people. Communication from one place to another was very difficult. The number of persons going to England either for Civil Service Examination or on business was very small. The subject of the sinfulness of foreign travel was being hotly discussed, and though the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona had decided to depute a representative to appear before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian affairs in 1872, there was no candidate coming forth. Konkan steamers began to ply weekly in 1861. Railway communication between Bombay and Poona was established, and centrifugal roads from Poona were being constructed. Postal arrangements were exceedingly poor, and one of the acute grievances of the people appears to have been the want of postal boxes at a sufficient number of places in the city.

About the time Tilak left college, Maharashtra was experiencing a famine of dangerous proportions. Prices of food-stuffs had leapt up to abnormally high levels. Government was bewildered and did not know what remedies to adopt. People died like black-berries. The root cause of the famine was the heavy indebtedness of the agriculturists. The accumulated wrath of the famine-stricken and starving people desperately

broke itself against the grabbing landlord and the ruthless money-lender. Prompted by the energy of despair, the famished hordes played havoc with their Sawakars and other oppressors.

In this upheaval about a thousand people were arrested and half the number ultimately charged. News of these happenings reached Tilak's ears even in his college days. The Sarvajanik Sabha did, under the inspiring guidance of M. G. Ranade, yeoman's service to the public in this tremendous agricultural distress. This agitation must have profoundly affected the youthful impressionable mind of Tilak. And it is no less indisputable that when famine returned to Maharashtra in its dire visitation twenty years after, (1896) Tilak worked under the stimulus of these never-to-be-forgotten memories.

To have a look now at the state of high politics. India was yet to be subjected to British domination by a legal enactment, though virtually it was so. In the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton a gorgeous Durbar was held to proclaim the assumption by Queen Victoria of the title of Empress of India. Till then the legal political relationship between England and India was almost an enigma to lawyers and political thinkers. The administration of Bombay Presidency was vested in a Governor and two Councillors. Not a single member of the Legislative Council was

elected. And those among the nominated had sometimes not even a nodding acquaintance with English. Though, however, the right of the English people to rule over India was not deemed to be easily explainable in constitutional terminology, it was taken to be nearly undisputed. How complete and peremptory was the authority of the new rulers even over native states, bound by ties of friendship and treaties of equality, was shown to the public in the unchallenged dethronement of Malharrao Gaikward of Baroda.

In the pre-Tilak period politics was of the simplest character. On account of the absence of local self-government of the ordinary type, even a complaint about a narrow street or an unclean neighbourhood was supposed to be a highly political matter. People had in their minds a lingering idea of the Swaraj that had gone. But as regards the Swaraj that was to be secured, their minds indulged as it were an indolent vacuity of thought. Why, the Indian National Congress itself, after a life of more than a score of years, could utter with difficulty the word 'Swaraj'; much less then could that old generation of Maharashtra men think of Swaraj under the new dispensation! There is evidence which indicates that the perception of a steady political decay was wrenching the hearts of those people. But the awakening or the collective power that was necessary to arrest

that continued downfall was hardly born. The rigours of the new order of things had just begun to touch the business and bosoms of the people in the forms of the Inam Commission, increase of the drinking habit, oppressive development of forests and many other similar matters. But the idea itself that there was a kind of larger politics beyond submitting personal applications had not risen on the mental horizon of Tilak's early predecessors. When stories of a soldier's insolence or any other white man's misconduct towards Indians were read by people in newspapers or heard by hearsay, they burned with indignation. But in the newspapers of those days no harsh word, an outer expression of the inner righteous indignation, was ever visible. Public commotions did rarely occur. There were indeed occasions when white officials had to run away from an affray with the skin of their teeth. One of the Judges of the Calcutta High Court and Lord Mayo, the Governor-General himself of India, had actually been done to death. In fact, people had come to possess, without doubt, the growing faith that white skin was not an impregnable armour, proof against anything and everything. But these were stray and fugitive instances of outbursts of violent passions. There was no sustained, all-pervasive and continuous political agitation as such.

Tilak himself once spoke out his opinion about the condition of the political work and agitation before he had embarked upon his public career. On the 18th of March 1901 he delivered a lecture in memory of Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar's anniversary. And in that speech Tilak expressed his views in this strain:—It is not that learning alone lifts a man up into leadership of society. For a short period succeeding the disappearance of the Peshwas, influence and respect attached themselves to old historic houses. Government recognized their importance and people also looked up to them with awe. And it was natural; for, education had not far advanced. But vices which generally accompany wealth and luxury crept into these families and then Government began to look at them with a contemptuous eye. Government found it more convenient to draw into their net the newly educated persons for administrative purposes. The new system of education did not cover any kind of religious and moral instruction; and the result of this sad defect was that the minds of these educated persons were in a hopeless condition. Their old moorings had been cut off; the sheet-anchor of life, that is to say, regard for time-honoured social restrictions, was annihilated. What education this class of persons had been given was meagre in quantity and not faultless in quality.

Nevertheless even this half-baked and ill-digested mental equipment brought a goodly sum as remuneration and also a measure of respect from Government. With this easy acquisition came its attendant banes viz. an inebriation of power and a facile tendency to ridicule and condemn society.

A retrospect of the history of leadership in Maharashtra between 1837 to 1874 leads a critical observer to the inference that English education had the effect of rudely disturbing the balance—so necessary for the learned aspirant for the leadership of a nation awaiting immediate regeneration—amid scholarship, morality, faith in religion, personal behaviour and family status. This kind of the distress fully unstable equilibrium had the fatal consequence of leading these persons only to pick holes in the prevalent social condition. Foreign teachers and missionaries also helped this destructive work. It was not realized that the building up of new systems of religion like the Brahmo Samaj or the Prarthana Samaj was not the proper way to protect society against such onslaughts. Instead of opposing the spread of Christianity and retarding it, the new gospellers themselves became outcastes of their own society. When the multitude of common people noticed the bizarre manners and grotesque ideas of the crusading social reformers of those days, they turned their backs upon them in

contempt. People, however, were not to blame. Was it not ridiculous and childish to seek to overthrow a whole social structure consecrated by thousands of years, within only a few months? After 1875 the tide began to turn. The consciousness that the nation could not advance only by religious and social reforms made its slow rise in the mind of the new generation. It was recognized that Government service was not the only channel to serve society. The force and usefulness of collective work made itself felt on the workings of the inchoate public opinion. The qualities of mature judgment, profound study, irreproachable conduct, moral courage and love of sacrifice, which were conspicuous by their absence in the outgoing leadership, were thought to be supremely essential for the command of unsuspecting public confidence.

This description, given by Tilak himself, of the setting generation of leaders is, on the whole, true. Still it would be unjust to suppose that there was overflowing loyalty to the British Raj in all ranks of people. Public memory may be said to be proverbially short. But loss of liberty is so great and heart-rending a bereavement for a nation that its goading sense is never to be wiped out from the tables of memory. This grievous remembrance had even violently burst up in certain cases. From this point of view, in the

history of pre-Tilak Maharashtra Vasudev Balwant Phadke occupies a high and distinguished place. Maharashtra enshrines in its history a tradition built up by hot-headed patriots sacrificing themselves at the altar of the mother-land. Doubtless, Justice Ranade cultivated a beautiful and expensive garden of politics, as it were, around the mansion of his Government service. Phadke went far beyond such an achievement. Even in Government service he raised a revolt. These two instances may be taken to illustrate the need of Government service in Maharashtra but also at the same time, to show what little effect it produces on the minds of those Maharashtrians who helplessly yoke themselves to such service. Of course, in the activities of Phadke there was no sound and perfect equation between the end and the means. The attempts, as a result, fizzled out and Phadke himself was condemned to the gallows. His super-human daring nevertheless made him a terror to the British. Faint echoes of his exploits even now fitfully fall upon our ears. It is said that a relative of Tilak was engaged in this rebellion. Surely, what inconceivably thrilling stories about these events Tilak at five and twenty must, therefore, have heard from this relation of his who was not merely an eye-witness but an actual participant !

Persons like Phadke, are of course, of the

order of splendid exceptions. It was obvious that the progress of politics was not to be accomplished by such forced marches. Permanent advance in politics was bound to be slow and patient. It is with politics as with the sea-tide. Wave succeeds wave. The first is overtaken by the second ; that in its turn is left behind by the third which increases in force and ferocity. And in this way the high-water mark is reached. In Maharashtra politics a similar process is observable. The generation that comes after is inspired with nobler ideas than those of the previous ; the third outshines the second in independent thinking ; the fourth combines sense of sacrifice with love of liberty. And thus the arithmetical progression had come to Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar. What Chiplunkar accomplished by first entering Government service and then renouncing it, Tilak and Agarkar undertook to perform without going into bondage to be necessarily snapped afterwards. This was of course, as it should be, a distinctive point in the natural development of national self-consciousness. Dr. B. D. Lad of Bombay, Gopal Hari Deshmukh of Poona, Rao Bahadur Nulkar can rightly be regarded as representative men of the period which we are passing in review. All of them figured more or less prominently in what politics there was in their time. Justice Raṇade was of course, far and away, the greatest of them all. He

was the *guru* not of Poona only; whole India might with justification be said to have regarded him as its political preceptor. There was not a province which did not acknowledge a debt of patriotic gratitude to him. Forsooth, among the leaders that rose and fell during that period of a quarter of a century, there was none who did not instinctively pay his homage to Justice Ranade as soon as his name was mentioned. Even now many persons, irrespective of party and creed, bend their heads down in obeisance to the hallowed memory of that venerable patriarch.

The obituary article on him which Tilak wrote in the *Kesari* is a positive proof of the transcendent merits which Ranade possessed and of the deep feelings of reverence which his memory evoked. He stood on the elevated rock of unremitting public service; on one hand there yawned the dark abyss where the degenerate scions of the once noble sires weltered in voluptuousness. And on the other, there frowned the ominous valley of slavish Government service swallowing the newly educated youths. Under these circumstances, Ranade naturally stood head and shoulders above others and the spirit of his service shone with unfading lustre. His balance tilted slightly more in favour of social reform including Prarthana Samaj, widow-remarriage, toleration and

such other subjects than in favour of politics. This fact certainly became the flaw in the ointment of his political work. But his mind was unperturbable. Without caring too much for the frowns of Government or the favours of the people, he kept his nose for all hours of the day and the night to the grind-stone of public service of a multifarious character. Nor did he mind if his activities brought him into the bad books of Government. To be sure, he was not the prize-boy of Government at all. Government appointed Telang and Bhandarkar to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Bombay, but Ranade was kept out of it. That the reason for this deliberate omission was not the intellectual inferiority of Ranade but the secret disfavour in which he stood with Government, is as plain as a pike-staff. He was associated with the half-a-dozen leaders who started the Indian National Congress. And there was no public movement in Poona with which he was not closely or remotely connected. There are many institutions in Poona whose pedigree begins from the name of Ranade. The Industrial Conference, the Exhibition, the Female High School, the Prarthana Samaj, the Native General Library, the Spring Lecture series, and the Sarvajanik Sabha bear witness to the variety of Ranade's undertakings and to his marvellous versatility with which he managed them all,

leaving a permanent stamp of his genius on every one of them.

Thus, broadly speaking, politics was beginning to shape itself in this period under the omnipresent influence of the vigorous personality of Ranade. Institutions of a nation are the mile-stones or at least the finger-posts of its progress. In former times there were institutions of a religious complexion; but organised political and social agitation through collective bodies was not much known. The Sarvajanik Sabha, the oldest of such organizations and the parent of many other institutions in Maharashtra, was the first of its kind to be formed in the days of Ranade. Movements and agitation generally take their source from such constituted bodies. And even when they are only nominally in existence the embers of life do not completely die out of them. A net-work of such institutions was being built up in Maharashtra. Most of the history of Tilak's life consists of the development of such institutions, the national work which he did through their agency and the growth of the new ones which he established and made to prosper.

When Tilak came upon the scene, such was the posture of affairs in Maharashtra. The foundation was being laid, the building material was half ready, the scaffolding was under contemplation and the artizans were few.

With his eagle eye Tilak surveyed the whole situation, settled his plan of action and started construction in full swing. He was the master builder. As the work proceeded and the materials fell short, he hewed stones and his touch made them alive. He dug out earth and it flared up at his magic touch. Work grew out of work; assistants and co-workers flew round him of their own accord and the intended structure grew to manlier proportions. Tilak had in every great or small deed a heart to resolve, a head to contrive and a hand to execute. Nothing was ever wanting in him. Of course, he had his moments of anxiety, like all other human beings, in his magnificent undertakings. But the courage which he brought to his life surmounted all the difficulties that came in his path. How he laboured to accomplish his object, what obstacles he had to overcome, what tremendous powers of organisation he was endowed with, how he dedicated his life to the service of his mother-land and how, at last, he struggled with death as he had struggled in life, the following chapters have to relate.

CHAPTER IV

NEW ENGLISH SCHOOL

IT is difficult to determine exactly when Tilak resolved not to practise as a lawyer in order to try for and accept a sub-judgeship. It may well be inferred that, while he was studying for the LL. B., the thought of not making his legal knowledge an instrument to draw out money must have flashed across his mind many a time. This intended boycott of law-courts was certainly motived differently from the recent boycott of law-courts preached by Mahatma Gandhi. For, nearly the whole of Tilak's life was spent in litigation on behalf of himself or others. He was not opposed to arbitration. He was always ready to utilize that private method of dispensation of justice, and he advised others also to have recourse to it where-ever possible. But he never thought it wise to lose the case by default or receive an *ex parte* judgment when the opposite party was not agreeable to arbitration. He felt it derogatory to purchase money by offering his legal knowledge in exchange. It was for this reason that he did not practise in the courts as a formal lawyer, though, to be sure, in a sense, throughout a large part of his life, his bag was full of many

honorary and, by all opinions, honourable briefs.

None can gainsay the fact that Tilak, had he chosen to practise in the Bombay High Court, would have succeeded in rising to a decidedly prominent place in the Bar. But he must have made it a rule not to begin practice before exploring all other avenues of making use of his knowledge independently in the cause of society. He prized knowledge of jurisprudence very highly, and if any student wishing to take up journalism or politics, approached him for his advice, he would ask him to graduate himself in law first. He had carried out his advice himself. It is doubtful whether there was a single LL.B. in Tilak's time who had decided to be a teacher in a school, in preference to practising as a lawyer in the good old groove. Tilak's heart was always big with an ambition to achieve something which others could not do and which was not done before his time. This inner urge, or perhaps divine afflatus, it was that impelled Tilak to handle the rod rather than adorn himself with the gown. We have a glimpse of his opinions about society and politics in his college-days. It was evident that greater responsibility as to service to society lay upon the educated classes than upon the uneducated; and naturally, *noblesse oblige.* To perform this task, Tilak might have thought the life of a

teacher better and more suitable than that of a pleader.

Two ways were open to him for doing service to society. One was to advise the old generation; the other to educate the new. The first, however, was much like sowing seed over stone. Persons in this class are too advanced in years and experienced in worldly matters to receive any new light. Their intellect has attained the fullest expansion. Their mind is so stuck up in the ruts that it is very nearly impossible to extricate it. Their vision being dimmed, they are incapable of looking far in the distance. In these circumstances, it becomes extremely difficult for these old people to cast away the slough of age and think anew, see anew and build anew. The difficulty of this task, in addition, is lined with a kind of impropriety also, for it may just amount to pointing the wart on a grandmother's nose or teaching a grandfather to suck an orange. It is for this reason that the priests and prophets of a new age always make the younger persons the vehicles of their teachings. Educated youths naturally have a deeper love for a school or college than any other institution; and the charms, the sanctity, the responsibility of the profession of teaching are so compelling that, in days gone by, as in the present times, a teacher ever carries more influence and inspires a profounder reverence among

people than a pleader can hope to secure. Tilak may have decided, under the force of these facts, to begin his career of service to society by launching a school into existence.

We do not know Tilak's opinions about the profession of teaching. But we know the views of Vishnushastri Chiplunkar from whom Tilak got, in part, the inspiration for starting the school, and who was one of his most sympathetic colleagues in conducting it. They can be gleaned from an issue of a Marathi monthly of 1872. Vishnushastri wrote an article on the duties of teachers in that magazine. "People believe that learning has spread much and love of learning also is on the increase. But it is frankly an illusion. Our people acquired learning for Government service. Far from love of learning, they have not even the common liking for it. Along with the University gown, they doff all sense of patriotism, all love of learning and all hatred of meanness. When the teacher himself thinks so lowly of his profession, how should other people regard it more highly? Both the pupils and the teachers have come to look upon teaching as a profession to be followed because any other is not available. The feeling of respect which former preceptors evoked in their pupils is now conspicuous by its absence. One dark chain of selfishness binds both the teachers and the taught together. Even the curri-

culum in the schools is hedged round. The least breath of religious or moral instruction is not allowed to contaminate the schoolroom atmosphere. But if teachers instil into the minds of their pupils a real respect for learning, thereby creating and feeding in them the healthy passion for its acquisition, the pupils will surely turn out to be sterling and indomitable patriots. They will then be able to crush the demons of difficulties which besiege the mother-land ; and so both the teachers and the pupils will make their name into an immortal asset to the country." Chiplunkar has drawn special attention in this article to the fact that the tutors of Pericles, Alcibiades and Alexander had contributed, in the main, to make them the historic personalities they were. It was his conviction that to make the young generation similarly fitted for patriotic service, they must enlist an equally competent batch of teachers.

Tilak's line of reasoning must have been much parallel to this. It appears clearly that, though in certain respects, their characters varied, they thought very often alike. Vishnushastri Chiplunkar by his *Nibandh-mala* was already a mighty force in public life and it had made him, in the student-world, enormously popular. People had been given to understand that having flung away the bauble of Government service in disdain, he

was thinking of starting an independent private school of his own. But by himself he could not start a school on its legs. Either an old school must be taken in charge and conducted; or a new team of teachers and co-workers must be made up. There were then already in working order one or two private English schools. There was the renowned school of Baba Gokhale to be named first.

This Baba Gokhale was well known for his knowledge of English and his school was able to stand the competition of missionary schools. Besides, another feature which attracted the attention of these people to this school was the fact that Vishnushastri Chiplunkar himself, having been plucked once or twice in the B.A. examination, was working as a teacher in it. This school was afterwards closed in 1876; and it was felt that if it was revived it would naturally amount to the revival of a trusted tradition. The second school was maintained by Mr. V. P. Bhave and it was called the Poona Native Institution. Mr. Bhave was reputed to be an excellent manager rather than as an efficient teacher. It was his hobby to attract into his net every Government officer and almost every gentleman of some note and take him to his school for securing a favourable remark about it from him. Mr. Bhave was not supposed to be made of stern stuff. Chip-

lunkar knew that, in these circumstances, it would not be possible for him to pull well together with him. Moreover, the school was not distinguished in any way so as to draw the patriotic mind of Chiplunkar to it. It was natural for him to feel diffident of achieving anything in co-operation with such a group of workers. When his mind was thus oscillating between these two schools, by a stroke of good fortune as it were, circumstances arose which made the way clear before him. The same combination of circumstances which had kindled in the mind of Chiplunkar the idea of liberty, was lighting up some other heroic younger minds also. It soon became evident that certain students in the Deccan College were fired with the same noble thoughts that were burning in the mind of Chiplunkar.

It was at this very stage that Tilak, Agarkar and others were engaged in discussing and deliberating the line of their future work in the world with great fervour and seriousness. Agarkar, in his book recording his experiences in jail-life, has noted in plain words that he used to revolve in his mind from morn till night the patriotic resolution taken by Tilak and himself when the former was studying for his LL. B., and himself for his M.A., about consecrating their lives to the service of the mother-country, without accepting any job under Govern-

ment fettering their hands from doing what they liked. Chiplunkar was senior to Tilak by about half a dozen years; and two years before Tilak took his degree of B.A., the *Nibandh-mala*—the mighty monthly journal which revolutionized thought in Maharashtra in all its aspects—had already begun to give its rude shocks to Maharashtra minds and as such it was already regarded by Government as seditious. Even admitting all these facts, we are not inclined to believe that the flame of Tilak's patriotism had borrowed its effulgence from the torch held aloft by Chiplunkar. From the reports of conversations that passed between Tilak and his coevals, before Chiplunkar's magazine had been ushered into its roaring existence, it appears that Tilak was certainly not a mere disciple of Chiplunkar in the matter of his love of the mother country; the blazing lustre of the patriotism of both had independently taken their highest voltage from the main switch of the very circumstances in which they had to pass their days. It has also been sometimes remarked that the steel of Tilak was rubbed against the flint of Agarkar's patriotism. But this observation too is no more defensible than the first.

Whatever be the original source of Tilak's patriotism, it is indisputable that, before Chiplunkar had returned to Poona after tendering his resignation of Government

service, Tilak and Agarkar had decided to devote their life to public service, more particularly in the educational line. It was no wonder, therefore, that as soon as they had got scent of Chiplunkar's desire of starting a school, both of them should have approached and told him what their designs in that behalf were and also promised their fullest help and co-operation in his endeavours. One night in September of 1879, Tilak and Agarkar saw Chiplunkar in his house where all the three understood one another's minds and the signal for the school was given. They agreed that it was better and more prudent to set up a new school than undertake to reform and carry on a second-hand one. Chiplunkar wrote a letter to his younger brother on the 13th of September, 1879, in which he proudly referred to this fortunate coincidence which was a good omen for the school on which he had set his heart. These are his words which reflect his satisfaction : "The memorable 1st of October is approaching. I shall enjoy the pleasure of kicking off the chains (that bind me) that day. Mr. Agarkar (going for M. A.,) Mr. Tilak (going for LL. B.) Mr. Bhagwat and Mr. Karandikar appearing for B. A.,) have tendered proposals for joining me in my enterprise. This they have done of their own accord. We have settled the 1st of January for the hoisting of the standard. Such a battery

must carry the High School instantaneously before it."

The school was opened on the 2nd of January, 1880. On the first day the battery referred to by Chiplunkar in his aforesaid letter to his brother was attended by only two artillery men, that is to say, by Chiplunkar and Tilak. Agarkar, having failed in his M. A. examination, had decided, in consultation with them, to remain in waiting for one year more with a view to qualifying himself better by the addition of the professorial degree of the Master of Arts. It is not known for certain what unfortunately happened to Karandikar and Bhágwat who were originally included in the prospective team. Anyhow it appears that icy cold water was thrown over their ambitious enthusiasm and they withdrew from the scheme. The fruit perhaps became rotten before it had ripened fully; the canvas made ready for their aspiration to find full expression was torn before they had applied a single sweep of their brush to it! Chiplunkar and Tilak, however, were equal to any defection or difficulty. The still-born enthusiasm of Karandikar and Bhagwat had created a hiatus in the successful realization of the project of Chiplunkar and Tilak. But it was more fittingly filled up by other recruits. The ball of the school wàs, as it were, set rolling by these two born heroes and it

continued to roll ever more and more vigorously. The High School which Chiplunkar declared his intention to raze to the ground by the cannon-shot from his battery was not, indeed, a pack of cards or a rope of sand to be so lightly blown up or dissolved into its elements.

But at any rate the fact became clear that this new school, started, as critics at the time contemptuously said, by certain quixotic, romantic, foolish lads came gradually to hold its own against a high school supported by the prestige and money of Government and by teachers who were prepared to do anything for Government and by guardians who could be browbeaten by them! The Reverend Principal Machican had publicly contended that when a school of that type, unaided by Government and conducted by sacrificing, enthusiastic, courageous youths was doing its work so efficiently, it was open to question whether the High School costing more than Rs. 11,000 to Government should at all be superfluously run. Government, on the contrary, perhaps jealous of the rise and progress of this school, determined to make their school a model high school on the lines of the famous public schools of Rugby and Eton of England, imported a European head-master for it and proposed to expend a large sum over it. Though of course the aim of Chiplunkar

adumbrated in his letter, namely of levelling down the Poona High School, remained unachieved during his life time, it is worth while mentioning the fact that the High School was closed by Government on the 1st of March, 1922, not of course for fear of Chiplunkar's school, but for other reasons of their own. The cannon-ball shot by Chiplunkar hung fire, as it were, in the Vishrambag palace which had housed the High School, till it burst and blew up the High School forty two years afterwards. The explosive which Chiplunkar discharged remained live long after he had died!

Besides Chiplunkar and Tilak, there were half a dozen gentlemen who had joined them in their noble work. Among them may be prominently named Madhaorao Namjoshi, Vasudev Shastri Khare, Nandargikar Shastri, Hari Krishna Damle and Krishnarao Mande. Among them, Namjoshi was not academically well qualified for a tutorship. Nevertheless, as an independent journalist and a shrewd, industrious and untiring public servant, he rose to great prominence in Poona and carried great influence with the people as well as with Government. Mr. Khare was known to Maharashtra as a Sanskrit teacher and more notably as a great historical scholar and research worker and a Marathi poet and dramatist into the bargain. Nandargikar lived nearly the whole of his life as a

teacher of Sanskrit in this school. To H. K. Damle was afterwards entrusted the management of the new book depot launched by Chiplunkar; but his fame to-day rests on his completion of the translation of the Arabian Nights left half finished by Chiplunkar's father. Mande also was a public servant in so far as he was conducting since 1880, in addition to doing his duty as a teacher, a Marathi paper by name *Shri Shivaji*. In brief, the whole of the first batch of teachers and colleagues that had gathered round Chiplunkar and Tilak was animated, like these two founders, with a high spirit of public service and prompted by an elevating sense of duty towards their country and their country-men.

The school founded by these patriots was lodged, in the beginning, in the famous huge building belonging to Moroba Dada Fadnis. It was given the English name of the New English School, because it comprised the seven standards of an English high school. The idea of national education was implicit in the starting and conducting of this school, though it was not known by that name in those days. That the school was inspired by the spirit of national education was evidenced by the parting lecture which Chiplunkar himself delivered before the school closed for the first May vacation. The number of students on the roll rose

by leaps and bounds till the strength of the school was no less than 1,000 in 1884. Chiplunkar's words of pride in the efficiency of the school were, in the circumstances, perfectly justifiable. He pointed out the striking contrast between the New English School and the High School and did not shrink, when goaded into retaliation, from replying strongly and trenchantly to the attacks made on him, his colleagues and the New English School by high-placed personages in describing their work as "little interested doings of little folks" and "mean devices of disappointed malice". In this address, Chiplunkar offered some advice to the students also and his words in that respect too were inspired with the nationalist spirit. There is no doubt that some of the features of the High School which Chiplunkar condemned, had crept into the management of the New English School also. Though Chiplunkar had derided the discipline of clocks and time-tables in the rival school, necessity drove his school in the days when Vaman Shivram Apte was the superintendent, to resort to time-limit, time-table and the rod with more or less rigour. All points of criticism made by Chiplunkar against the High school are not maintainable even by a thorough-going nationalist. At the same time there is no evidence to suggest that by the practice of those methods,

the New English School suffered in popularity or lacked distinctiveness or worth.

No sooner was the school founded than it developed rapidly under the care of Chiplunkar, Tilak and their colleagues. In its very fifth year, the Deccan Education Society founded the Fergusson College. The history of the school for the first quinquennium was a history of remarkable progress. The number of pupils mounted up at a surprisingly rapid rate. A feature of the progress of the institution which afforded greater cause to its founders to be proud, was the winning of scholarships and the attainment of University distinctions by students sent up by the school for the University examinations. When in 1884 the percentage of passes in the matriculation examination reached 89, the Private Secretary of H. E. the Governor of Bombay wrote a congratulatory letter to the school. It may be pointed out that in the first five years the Jagannath Shankarshet Sanskrit scholarship was nearly a monopoly of the New English School. Among the first scholars of the school were Professor B. R. Arte of Baroda, Prof. Panse and Prof. S. M. Paranjpe. Within two years of the opening of the school the capacity of the Fadnis Wada to provide accommodation was put to a severe test and before the beginning of 1883, the choice of a more spacious building became inevitable. Luckily for the school, it secured both the

Gadre Wada and the Holkar Wada in the Shanwar Peth which was roomy enough to accommodate about 1300 students.

It was something more than a fluke of good fortune that the school secured such conveniences; in justice, the credit for the acquisition of the new buildings to the school should go to the chief organizers who had by that time established a reputation for the way in which they had managed it. The sacrifice made and the earnestness shown by the principal managers like Chiplunkar, Tilak, Agarkar and Namjoshi must be given the first place in the list of the causes that contributed to the prosperity of this educational institution. It was the sincerity and tenacity of purpose of this group of virile youths that planted, watered and nourished it. Next in order we should mention the assistance received by them from a fairly large number of friends and sympathizers some of whom enrolled themselves as life-members and others pledged themselves to work as life-teachers. Broadly speaking, credit must be given to all these people for doing their best in the service of this institution which would not surely have been built up but for the hearty co-operation and the unfailing sympathy of all.

But when examined in a proper perspective, the sacrifices incurred by Tilak and Agarkar will be found to be costlier and to

involve greater self-effacement than those of others of that brilliant galaxy of Poona patriots. Tilak had decided to take the path of the school-master, though the royal road to the High Court lay clear and open before him; and like Chiplunkar, he also worked during the first year without receiving a single pie either as pay or as honorarium which is but a fashionable euphemism for it. Agarkar's case too was on a par with Tilak's in point of sacrifice; for as soon as he passed the M.A. examination, he wrote to his mother that if she had cherished any high hopes of his making money for her she would be sorely disappointed, because he had made up his mind to devote his life to the service of other people's interests more than to his own, without desiring to secure a higher emolument than was strictly required for a decent and contented life.

The sacrifices made by these men will be seen in their true light and colour when placed side by side with the manner in which some of the persons joined them and the state of circumstances which, in some cases, forced them to do so. We may cite the example of Prof. V. S. Apte. His profound learning, efficiency of management and methods of maintaining discipline were certainly qualifications which must be valued high in a school-master and which unquestionably were superior to those possessed

by any of the persons that were serving in the school at the time of his joining; but the fact cannot be overlooked that had he not been baulked of the realization of his ambition in Government service, it was ten to one that he would not have cared to enlist himself in the poverty-striken cadre of New English School service. It may also be mentioned without meaning any disrespect to his sacred memory and without laying ourselves open to the charge of speaking ill of the dead, that even when he at last decided to join the school, he joined it with reservations and conditions, while Chiplunkar, Tilak and Agarkar had practically placed all their eggs in the single basket of the school.

Before concluding this chapter, a passing reference may, however, be made to two events which raised the school in the estimation of the public. The two events were the Kolhapur case against Tilak and Agarkar and the starting of the two papers, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, by the organizers of the school. The two incidents have such an important bearing on the life of Tilak that each of them deserves a special chapter to itself, if full justice is to be done to them. Here they are touched upon only to complete the survey of the causes that made the school so popular and beloved an institution. The reputation of the school travelled beyond the limits of Poona and

reached even the portals of the Government house. As early as 1882, Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik expressed his desire that there should be a veritable net-work of such ideal and typical institutions all over the country. Though perhaps one may be inclined to discount such profuse praises as born of partisanship, it is entirely impossible even for the most irresponsible sceptic to impugn either the sincerity or the truthfulness of the eulogy showered upon this school by Prof. Wordsworth. He looked upon this institution as an embodiment of the new spirit that had recently surged up in Indian society. What nobler sentiment, he asked, could there be imagined by man than this one of service to the country with a contempt of service under Government ; and such was his rapturous joy that he could not but make the remark that the school was sure to leave its stamp on the tablets of the future history of India ! But the missionaries waxed even more eloquent in praising the school than Prof. Wordsworth. Sir William Hunter, the President of the Educational Commission, thought this school to be almost beyond compare.

To say that, as a teacher, Chiplunkar did not cut a good figure is not to detract from his reputation as the most rousing and vigorous author of the *Nibandh-mala* or to belittle his vast reading and extra-

ordinary talents. As in the case of his studies in the college, in his teaching in the class-room also he left the narrow creeks of prescribed subjects and voyaged over seas uncharted without any compass in his pocket to guide his route. Tilak's method of teaching was quite different from this. He never allowed himself to go beyond the books he had in his hand; and in his talk with students he did not divagate beyond control. He stood midway between Chiplunkar on the one hand and Apte on the other. He did not much care to examine the students' note-books or even to go through the papers with special solicitude. When teaching mathematics, he solved mathematical sums out of hand, which left the students' minds quite vacant. He lacked Agarkar's skill in making his subject interesting to learn and easy to swallow. On the whole, the crown of successful teachership must be placed, not on the head of Tilak, but on that of Apte to whom must be entirely credited all the successive Jagannath Shankarshet scholarships carried off by the students of the New English School.

Chiplunkar died on 17th March, 1882. His connection with the school thus lasted only a little over two years. During this time, though Chiplunkar and Tilak worked together, there is no record to be found of any discussions or familiar conversations

with each other. Both of them came into contact with each other first in the school and their relationship ended where it began. The reason perhaps for the absence of familiar intercourse with each other may be that Chiplunkar was by nature taciturn ; and so was Tilak too. At any rate, at that time he was not very fond of such conversations or controversies. Whatever effect Chiplunkar's meteoric political life and career produced on Tilak's mind must have, therefore, been produced in this period in which, it may be presumed, Tilak knew Chiplunkar and saw the patriotic springs of his work at close quarters. Though it is wrong to suppose, as we have shown above, that Tilak drew his inspiration from Chiplunkar, it cannot be gainsaid that there seems to exist definitely a sort of historical sequence between the immortal achievements of both. If it be contended that Tilak got the torch from Chiplunkar's hands, it was he, without the shadow of a doubt, who kept it burning and shining in his day with a brighter flame. If it be said that Tilak borrowed the brick from Chiplunkar, it must be equally conceded that he left it marble. And both of these pioneers are rightly revered by posterity, Chiplunkar as the father of Nationalism in Maharashtra and Tilak as a more illustrious son who spread that patriotic spirit to all quarters of the country.

CHAPTER V

THE *KESARI* AND THE *MAHRATTA*

FROM the New English School we naturally come to the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*.

It seems to be the nature of the doings of great men to ramify in several directions from very slender beginnings. The seed they cast breaks up in season and throws up not a single sprout but many, which again develop and spread far and wide, high and low. Their activities, exiguous at the outset, flourish like a palm tree and grow like Cedar in Lebanon. Or like the source of a river, their rise is unimposing, but, like the waters of the river, they move on, gaining increasing strength as they go, felling trees that impede their path, sweeping over rocks that threaten to dam their onward march, ultimately flowing full and vast and expansive with a majesty that commands the surrounding territories and fertilizes them on the way. This New English School became the centre as it were from which radiated nearly all of Tilak's political life and his political achievements. For, the institutions that Chiplunkar and Tilak founded, the exploits they achieved and the difficulties that enmeshed them were in most cases the off-shoots or consequences of what these

two stalwarts laid out their plans about in this school. Before long, the activities connected with the school branched out in two directions. One was towards its natural evolution, the starting of the Fergusson College. A college is admittedly the coping-stone of an educational institution and in this volume that development is dealt with in a special chapter. The other kind of activity which was undertaken by the organizers of the New English School was the setting up of a press and newspapers.

Unlike the founding of a college, the installation of a press and papers was entirely in the hands of Chiplunkar and Tilak and the time also for it was not unripe. Newspapers and printing were not unknown in Maharashtra in those days. There were in existence at the time papers like the *Dnyanprakash, Kiran, Shivaji* and *Induprakash* and certain monthly magazines also. Nor were Chiplunkar, Tilak and their friends unendowed with the capacity for writing or uninspired by an enthusiastic liking for it. Chiplunkar's magazine entitled the *Nibandhmala* had, by its six years' existence and work, already established for him a reputation as a very powerful literary writer and critic. Namjoshi also was known as an ambitious journalist and editor. From his very youth, Agarkar too had exhibited his liking and capacity for penmanship. Apte

who hitched his waggon to this train of young persons a little later, was not only a litterateur but also a writer and as such was not opposed to the idea of starting a press, if not indeed a paper. It was only Tilak that had no particular fondness or weakness for the quill and the ink-pot. It would, therefore, be no disparagement of Tilak to remark that the idea of a press and papers originated, in the first instance, in the minds of Chiplunkar and Namjoshi. And Tilak only gave his approbation to it.

The idea was mooted in this group one day in the month of January 1881, when it had gathered in the house of Apte. The thought of printing the papers in an outside press was wholly repugnant to many of them. But a press meant an amount of money which none of them possessed. It was resolved, therefore, at the suggestion of Namjoshi, to purchase his press which was mortgaged to one Sathe. The bargain was easily struck; for these young aspirants were as anxious to secure the printing apparatus as the mortgagee was anxious to be relieved of it. In a single night the whole stock was removed to the Fadnis Wada in which the New English School also had its home. Sathe agreed to be paid in instalments. Tilak, in his after-life, sometimes humourously and proudly referred to what they all regarded as the

miracle of transferring the press within a few hours, by remarking that he had carried on his shoulders the type-cases of the Arya-Bhushan Press. To those who have seen him personally inspecting the machinery of the press and handling, repairing or joining its parts, the above-mentioned fact will not appear to be a legend or even an exaggerated and unbelievable truth.

This press was named the Arya-Bhushan Press and was considered to be the younger brother, as it were, of the New English School. Perhaps, one may like to call it a younger but a more adventurous brother and also to hold that it was the press alone that contributed the largest share to the greatness of the persons that were closely concerned with it. There can, however, be no doubt that the press came after the school and for some years at least, it had to content itself with the subordinate position of a younger brother of the family. The first work that the press got was the printing of the 66th issue of Chiplunkar's *Nibandh-mala* in which is published the prospectus of the *Kesari*. The organisers of the press apparently hoped for a very great future for the press, which was fore-shadowed by Chiplunkar in his thundering words in his journal. In it he declared in a flamboyant manner his prophecy that when the press would work to its fullest capacity and when all its latent

splendour would sally out, other presses that at the time dominated the city would have to hang their heads down in shame. We cannot say for certain against what adversary these stupendous strokes were aimed. They simply serve to give us an idea of what a mighty engine Chiplunkar and his colleagues wanted to make of the press.

The prospectus of the *Kesari* first appeared above the signatures of Chiplunkar, Tilak, Agarkar, Namjoshi and Garde. These signatories were individually responsible for the press. The connection between the press and the school was thought, however, to be very close and it was even supposed that the ownership of the press and the papers vested in the school itself. The school-money was freely used for the press and it was no wonder that outside people considered the institutions to be a whole undivided affair. During the first year of the *Kesari*, the writings of Chiplunkar, Tilak and Agarkar are found published with no indication as to their authorship. As in ownership, so in its opinions the press was probably a joint-stock company. We can distinguish between the articles and trace them to their authors, fairly accurately, only by means of inner evidence, that is to say, of style, mannerisms in writing, etc. It seems that, generally speaking, Chiplunkar exercised his virile pen on literary subjects. Agarkar took upon

himself to plough the historical, the economic and the social fields. Religion and law formed Tilak's sphere. In this period Tilak seems to have contributed a leading article on social ostracism and we get a foretaste of the terseness of expression, assertiveness of manner and forcefulness of his sentences in those early writings of his.

A reader of this generation is easily persuaded that he sees Tilak's embryonic style when he reads for example such crisp aphorisms as "A king is the maker of the times", "Political philosophy must change according to public opinion" and "Nothing can be secured without demanding it and fighting for it." The size of the *Kesari* was small during the first six months. It was demi 4 pages. Afterwards it was increased to royal 4 pages. At the outset the number of copies of the *Kesari* that was sold was about 1800. But as the Kolhapur case began, it rapidly rose to 3,500. From 1884, the size was again enlarged into double crown. In 1884-1885, there was a further rise in sales and they reached 4,500. In spite of this rising sale of the paper it could not make its two ends meet, and the purse of the New English School had to be occasionally drawn upon to make up for the deficiency in the revenues of the paper. The editorial staff did not expect to gain money from the papers; for first, the subscription of the

Kesari was much less than that of its sister newspapers of the day and secondly, the *Mahratta* was always a losing concern. The Kolhapur case also depleted much of the funds of the paper and the management was not as economic as it ought to have been. When Tilak and Agarkar returned from the Dongri jail after their famous imprisonment of a century of days and one, they found the concerns heavily in debt. Frightened by the growing indebtedness of the institution, Apte separated himself from the group. The void left by him was filled up by Vasudevrao Kelkar who, along with Namjoshi, began to write for the *Mahratta*. After Chiplunkar's death Agarkar wrote most of the articles of the *Kesari*, of which he was reckoned the responsible editor till the 22nd of October, 1887 on which date Tilak assumed, in name and in fact, the sole editorship of the *Kesari*.

Let us now turn for a while to the history of the *Mahratta*. The inaugural issue of the paper appeared on Sunday, the 2nd of January, 1881. Its size was demi 8 pages. As the law then did not require the editor to blazon forth his name in a prominent place on the paper, the imprint simply contained the statement that it was published "For the proprietors at the Arya-Bhushan Press No. 520, Budhwar Peth, Poona". On the front-page the words "The *Mahratta*

with which is incorporated the *Deccan Star*" met one's eye as the head-line. It may perhaps be owing to this fact of amalgamation and merger that the first number appeared with the words "New series" marked in a corner.

In associating the *Deccan Star* with the *Mahratta* the paper did not get much by way of goodwill or property. But it undoubtedly secured for it one most essential advantage. It was the acquisition of Namjoshi, the editor. Unaided by anybody else and without the adventitious benefit of a well-known name, he had started and carried on an English daily entirely on his own responsibility. He always wielded a willing and prolific pen. He conceived new movements and had original ideas on the industrial development of the country, local self-government and other subjects. In him, therefore, the *Mahratta* obtained quite an unfailing support. It would probably be truer to observe that the *Mahratta* was an instrument in his hands ready to be used by him, than that he was the spring to keep the *Mahratta* going. Only for the first twelve months the name of the *Deccan Star* was published on the frontispiece of the *Mahratta*. After that its sands were fully run. Though the *Deccan Star* thus ceased to shine, the editor had no cause to feel any sense of bereavement; for the *Mahratta* was already there to fill up the not irreparable gap.

The *Mahratta* was born two days before the *Kesari*. It was thus the elder brother of the *Kesari*. Though these two papers were twins, as it were, there was necessarily a vast difference between them. Being an English weekly to be read all over India, the attitude of the *Mahratta* towards certain questions could not but be more large-hearted and liberal than that of the *Kesari* towards the same questions ; and of course, the difficulty of writing a powerful style in a foreign language as in one's own manifested the difference. In writing on subjects of purely provincial significance, the *Kesari* could afford to be perhaps more vitriolic in its criticisms. A foreign tongue may therefore be taken to be a surety for good behaviour and gentle comment. The circulations of the two papers also differed very widely. If the columns of the *Mahratta* left an impression on the reader's mind of forbearance, coolness of temper, liberalism in outlook and chivalry in manners, the articles of the *Kesari*, being in a language which our forefathers in Maharashtra spoke, went home deeper and stamped themselves more indelibly on every Maharashtriya heart.

Even under the direct editorship of Tilak, the *Mahratta* never paid its way. It had always been sponging on the *Kesari*. For this circumstance, however, the *Mahratta* is not to blame. Everywhere the fate of

English weeklies in India seems to be abject and hard. The *Champion* of Bombay conducted by an Englishman, the *Indian Spectator* under the editorship of Malabari who perhaps wrote better English than many Englishmen, the *Indian Social Reformer* of Mr. Natarajan, the *Common Weal* started by no less influential a personality than Dr. Besant, why, the *Young India* of Mahatma Gandhi himself, continue to hand down to posterity the same unvarying tale of a thin-spun life. As irony had it, the elder brother had thus to be maintained out of the magnificant earnings of •the younger. And this in spite of the heavy subscription and the high advertizement rates of the *Mahratta.* The list of subscribers being short, the total collections did not amount to much and owing to the narrowness of the field of circulation, the proceeds of advertizements were about as substantial as the contents of Madame Humbert's treasury.

The obvious reason for starting and running the *Mahratta* even at a loss was the necessity to supply an outlet through the English language to the growing national consciousness of the people. If the *Kesari* catered for the Marathi reading public, the *Mahratta* was designed to serve the English-readers and the brethren outside Maharashtra. It was quite natural if the English-knowing Indians had a

weakness for writing in English; and even Chiplunkar and Tilak, not to speak of Ranade and Gokhale, wrote their private letters oftener in English than in Marathi. But evidently the satisfaction of this curious wish to write in English was not the motive that impelled the starting of the *Mahratta*. It was the utility of an English organ that prompted the appearance of that weekly. It was a belief among many prominent persons of those days that any grievance of the people required only a proper announcement and explanation to Government for immediate redress and that propaganda, though needed, was more for educating the foreigners than for instructing our own country-men. Those people meant agitation to be only a means to inform the rulers; and they contemplated little or no action of any kind on behalf of the people. This object could not be achieved through the instrument of a Marathi paper like the *Kesari*, which could not be understood by the rulers, much less appreciated by them and which, though perhaps translated by Government for its behoof, was incapable of carrying the spirit of its criticism against governmental action or policy to the very home and centre of foreign rule. After all, a translation of the Marathi original would supply views secured second-hand, having been robbed of its pristine beauty and polish.

It may, therefore, be said that the *Mahratta* was started as an interpreter or a *liaison* between the people with their nationalistic sentiments on the one hand and the alien administrators on the other. In fact, in the first enunciation of its policy, the paper described its primary duty to be to interpret, petition and instruct, and relegated advocacy as a secondary feature of its work. This work of interpretation was done to some extent by Anglo-vernacular papers like the *Indu-prakash*, the *Dnyan-prakash* and the *Subodh-patrika*. But this method of compassing the end in view was thought by the group of young men led by Chiplunkar and Tilak to be unsatisfactory and half-hearted. And the *Mahratta* was the outcome of their ambitious wish. In the very first issue of the *Mahratta*, it was made clear that the policy of the paper would always be liberal and broad-based and its outlook on all questions of national importance as wide as the nation. The readers were assured that the paper, conducted though by a few Poona Brahmins, would never allow itself to be reduced into a weapon in the hands of a particular narrow class or caste. That this promise has been well kept is unmistakably shown by its history up to date.

On Tilak's imprisonment as a sequel to the Kolhapur case, Vasudevrao Kelkar edited and wrote for the paper. The control of it

remained in his hands till the 3rd of September 1891 when Tilak became the sole proprietor and the fully responsible editor of the two papers. The assumption by Tilak of this charge has a history of seven years behind it. That history is a very complex and tangled skein in which numerous threads are involved. It is as if a whirlpool in which numerous currents and cross-currents seem to be eddying round and round. It is in this period that (to compare great things with small) the seven years' war in Tilak's life, as we may call it, was fought and, to the wonder and dismay of all, materially won by Tilak. If the historic Seven Years' War had a decided effect on the British Empire, the civil analogue of it resulted in preparing the ground for the invisible political empire of Tilak. In the succeeding chapters, the several skirmishes and pitched battles in this war will be dealt with.

CHAPTER VI

KOLHAPUR CASE AND FIRST IMPRISONMENT

A PUBLIC servant in any country is verily a life-candidate for imprisonment. Even in a free country there arise occasions when the tribunes of the people have got to lead an opposition against Government and suffer persecution on that account. In a country which is under the domination of foreigners this is more glaringly the case. Points of opposition to the ruling powers in such a dependent country are, so to say, hydra-headed; and correspondingly the tyranny which they call for from them. It will not be true to say that there were no prisons in India before 1882 or that people were not imprisoned. Prisons there were undoubtedly, and surely they may not have been untenanted. But it is one thing to be clapped into jail for a private offence and quite another to be His Majesty's guest for an act committed in the course of public service. In the catastrophe of 1857, people, by the thousand, not excluding even the most innocent, must have been promiscuously gibbetted, and as many must have been forced, at the point of the bayonet, to burn unprofitably the wasted oil of their

lives, 'like hidden lamps in old sepulchral urns.' But here we are concerned with the persecution practised in peaceful times. In this respect Tilak was the first man to receive the honour of incarceration at a period of his life when he had barely counted two dozen years. In 1882 he was sentenced to four years' simple imprisonment; and this punishment may be taken to be the corner-stone of the august arch of Tilak's prison-life. Outwardly, the punishment was awarded for the charge of defamation of a certain officer. But in reality it was not a private or a personal affair. For none had any axe to grind. The whole defamation suit was thickly lined with political significance which was demonstrated by the very fact that Tilak came out of it not only with his private character absolutely untarnished but also with an added glory to his name which, before the punishment, he did not possess.

When the New English School people themselves had started the two papers it had become manifest to the shrewd public that they were not simply the holders of the rod but also wielders of the proud, patriotic, persevering and propagandistic pen. Before the debut of this group into the field of journalism, there was already the *Dnyanprakash* stalking in it. But probably for want of a learned and politics-loving editor it could not cut much ice. A newspaper started with the

selfish purpose of keeping the press engaged is just like an orphan which may or may not be fed and which is therefore condemned to lead an ever precarious life. The child does not develop so as to attract public attention by its charms, nor does it inspire public confidence in its promise, if it has any. The *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* were entirely different from this haggard type of newspapers. Before they had run a career of a few months, the public saw for itself that the editors were an industrious and learned lot and that the articles that embellished their columns were instinct with a kind of peculiar lustre and spirit. People easily felt that they had found in them convenient and useful organs for ventilating their grievances of any character what-so-ever against the rulers.

It goes without saying that as the newspapers serve this purpose and enable popular opinions to be published on all subjects, it is but proper that reports that find publicity through them must be scrupulously truthful. But in this respect the popular mind is generally a complex mix-up of credulity, sentimentalism and ignorance of law. Driven by the resultant force of all these defects, people are usually in the habit of sending information to the press which is compounded of incorrectness, imagination, exaggeration and such other faults. It will not be right to accuse the

voluntary correspondents of deliberate lying. They are actuated by a not illegitimate motive of giving publicity to their thoughts. The responsibility for insertion of such reports rests entirely on the editor without doubt. But it is often difficult for him to distinguish, even when he is on the spot where the particular episode which is the subject of report took place, between the true and the false. How much more difficult the task would be to winnow out the chaff of falsehood from the grain of truth in his own chamber! To be too cautious and unbelieving on the part of a journalist is likely to border on extreme timidity and lack of the necessary go-aheadness. The editor is, thus, often in a fix and his very profession inclines him more to err on the side of boldness rather than expose himself to the charge of journalistic inefficiency or cowardice.

The editorial staff of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* had such a spirit of adventure racing through their veins. They were certainly not blind to the fear that their adventurousness stood a chance of being exploited by certain impatient, hot-headed and even wicked persons; for they had taken care to warn such dangerous enthusiasts against sending for publication any untruthful or unsupported information. Unfortunately, however, for once did the worldly wisdom of the youthful editors nodded; the watch-dogs

of the two papers were perhaps circumvented; the alarm signal broke in their very hands; and by one of life's ironies, the editors had to walk into jail for publishing in their papers certain objectionable and defamatory letters. The punishment was indeed a bolt from the blue; though they were certainly not afraid of it, they had not expected it. By a curious perversity of fortune they realised that the ground on which they had relied so much was a treacherous bog and they felt like having been altogether taken unawares.

In the first year the articles that appeared in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* related, in the main, to the subject of administration of native states. It was believed that the administration of native states reeked with grosser injustice than that in the Khalsa. Yet people had then a deeper regard for the native states than they have to-day. Perhaps they imagined that the popularity of a native state's administration might be held up to the Britishers to put them to the blush. For us, moderns, it will not be possible at present to fully realize the value of the high regard which people then had for the princes. The principle that good government cannot be a substitute for self-government has now been too deeply rooted in our minds to leave any soft corner for the princes. But when the two papers were born, the times were different

and the manners too of the people towards the princes were unlike our own. If any kind of mal-administration was brought to public notice, the resident and the minister playing second fiddle to him were hauled over burning coals. Even more than the agent or the political resident, the native minister or the Karbhari was looked upon as the chief source of all the mismanagement of state affairs and all the unjust repression of the subjects.

During this period the papers wrote strong articles against the administration of Kolhapur and Baroda. The criticism against the misdoings of Raja Sir T. Madhaorao and his weak-kneed partisanship of British interests against the young Maharaja Sayajirao was certainly extremely bitter and pointed. But anyhow the articles on Baroda affairs did not carry matters to the crisis of bringing punishments over the heads of the editors. The Kolhapur Darbar seems to have been in a more delicate situation. The Maharaja of that state by name Shivaji was suspected to be a lunatic. While his subjects were already anxious about his lunacy, unfortunately, they came to believe that it was due to his minister himself. Whether the suspicion was justified or not, we have no authentic record to prove. Compared with Sir T. Madhaorao, the Kolhapur minister, Rao Bahadur Barve, appeared to the

people in the colour of a worse and more repellent character. Lacs of rupees in Kolhapur treasury had taken wings to themselves when the Maharaja was a boy and British Government the trustee, with the minister as a salaried agent. There was staggering expenditure of money, and more disconcerting to the people than this, were the rumours of prodigious waste. When people in Kolhapur state saw that the two papers were assuming a firm offensive attitude, information of every sort, veracious and mendacious, with respect to every detail in the administration, began to pour into the office of the papers.

The Kolhapur case occupied a large space in the public eye as well as in the columns of the papers; and the writings on that topic had the greatest vogue in those times. The papers had openly expressed their fear of danger to the very life of the Maharaja and plainly warned the British Government that if any such catastrophe occurred, the responsibility of it would be fixed entirely on Her Majesty the Queen and her representatives. We have grounds to hold that what the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* wrote was comparatively mildness itself beside the rhapsodies of strictures and invectives which passed current in people's familiar conversations. Poona people had a slight taste of it in the public meeting held in November of 1881

under the presidentship of Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh when one Bhide, himself a resident of Kolhapur, narrated, for above two hours, the history of the state of affairs in Kolhapur as he had seen it with his own eyes. The *Kesari* not only fully reported the speech in its issue of the 29th of November, 1881, but used the occasion to offer a few telling and trenchant comments on the way in which the lunatic Maharaja was treated. It also suggested that the trick of giving a man the name of a lunatic and thus robbing him of his property, used in English novels and romances, was being observed in actual operation in the Kolhapur case. It appears that certain private letters which afterwards were proved to be fictitious, had been shown to the editors of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. Commenting on these letters, the *Kesari* remarked, in its issue of 6th December, on the utter heartlessness of Rao Bahadur Barve whose dark deeds could not be lifted into light, though they must give excruciating pain to every man whose heart was in the right place.

The Anglo-Indian newspapers, of course, took the other side and painted it in as bright colours as some of the Indian papers. The gist of their advocacy was that the Maharaja was really insane, that his supporters had ulterior designs, that they sought to bring from the Maharaja an abundant

pecuniary grist to their private mills and lastly, Rao Bahadur Barve was entirely a selfless and innocent minister. The *Kesari* fittingly and forcibly retorted to all these interested allegations. The actual correspondence and documents that defamed Barve were never printed in the *Kesari*. But, nevertheless, the cup of Barve's defamation by the *Kesari* was already full to the brim. He was left no alternative but to clear his conduct, by filing a suit in a court of law, from the serious blackening charges that were freely and openly levelled against him in press and on platform.

In the very first issue of the new year, 1882, the *Kesari* prayerfully wished for a better and more prosperous career than that of the year that was going out, But the decree of fate ran quite contrary to the editorial expectations. The false letters referred to in the foregoing paragraphs were published in the *Dnyanprakash* in full. Rao Bahadur Barve left Kolhapur and came down to Poona for taking a definite step in the matter. In its issue of January 17th the *Kesari* in a challenging mood quoted in its columns the letters published in the *Dnyanprakash* and defied Barve to file a suit. Barve had, of course, arrived in Poona to settle the question finally one way or the other. The Government's necessary permission was obtained, the suit was regularly filed, the papers were delivered into the hands of the

solicitors in Bombay and the engine of law was set in motion. Barrister Inverarity appeared for Barve with Cleveland and Little as solicitors. Pheroze Shah Mehta took the brief of the defendants and was helped by solicitors Shapurji and Thakurdas. The hearing of the case commenced on the 8th of February before Mr. Webb, the then Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay.

The enthusiastic band that started the New English School did also start the two papers; but, in particular, Tilak was responsible for the *Mahratta* and Agarkar for *Kesari*. The rest of the batch undoubtedly used to write in the papers but by the letter of the law the pair of Tilak and Agarkar alone stood to answer. It is undeniable that the objectionable matter had found way into the papers after full consultation together. In fact the article which supplied the gravamen of the charge of defamation had issued from the pen of Apte. But legally Tilak was responsible for the article in the *Mahratta*, and both legally and in fact Agarkar was responsible for that in the *Kesari*. The case was committed to the sessions by Mr. Webb on the 29th February, 1882, after taking sureties from the defendants. Before the order for committal was passed, Pheroze Shah Mehta lodged a complaint that the complainant had not submitted his full evidence to the court. With great forensic

skill and astute advocacy he endeavoured to convince the court that the article in the *Mahratta* being written with a good motive, falls into the exceptions to the section 499 of Indian Penal Code, that Tilak had taken the greatest care to examine the truth of the letters, that the subject-matter of those very letters was incorporated in the application submitted to the Governor, and that they had to be published because the demand of an open investigation into the Kolhapur case made in the application was not granted by the Government. In this case there were five persons in all charged with defamation including Tilak and Agarkar. Besides these there were many other newspapers that had committed the offence of publishing the letters. But all of them did not think it wise to face the ordeal of a court of law and published their apologies to Rao Bahadur Barve. Finally, these five were sentenced to imprisonment and Rao Bahadur Barve had avenged himself on them and, so far as law and court were concerned, got his reputation washed clean.

The verdict of a court of law, however, does not often exactly coincide with the current popular judgment. The truth of Pope's couplet,

> " 'T is with our judgments as our watches,—none
> Go just alike, yet each believes his own."

is perhaps nowhere more pointedly esta-

blished or brought home to us than in the contradiction between the legal award of a court of law and the moral award of the multitude which is supposed to enshrine wisdom in its united voice. Law is admittedly known not to take account of details. It does not concern itself with small matters. The arm of law fails sometimes to reach and clutch at certain minutiae in respect of a particular case that comes up before a court for investigation and settlement, and in such cases, it is the nature of such small things to have a more decisive importance than even the high points which the net of law can catch up. The punishment passed against the accused in this case swept away, as with a new broom, the cob-webs with which the false letters had surrounded Rao Bahadur Barve's conduct and character. The ghost of public suspicion on that score was exorcised by the incantation of law. But public opinion remained absolutely unaffected with respect to the well-grounded supposition that he did not treat his master, the Maharaja, as sympathetically and compassionately as the Maharaja's position deserved, and the Rao Bahadur's duty and loyalty to him called for. Yet this was not the whole story. The public rightly believed that Rao Bahadur Barve allowed himself to be a pliant tool in the hands of the political agent. The principal question, however, in this case was

not how Rao Bahadur Barve behaved towards the Maharaja, but how Tilak and Agarkar put their faith in these letters, how they published them in their papers and how, on that basis, they wrote such strong articles against the Rao Bahadur.

In the course of the evidence recorded in the court the history of the letters was thus briefly related. From the account given by various witnesses in the case, it appears that the letters fell into the hands of the proprietor of the *Dnyanprakash*, V. G. Ranade, through a certain man who had gone to the house of one Ainapurkar at Kolhapur who had in his papers some letters purporting to have been addressed by Barve to himself and a few others. Ranade handed them to Bhide who, on his part, showed them to many of his friends in Poona including Tilak and Agarkar. They were seen by Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade and Phatak who was himself a sub-judge. They were in the custody of Rao Bahadur Ranade for one whole month. He was at that time regarded as the leader of the young generation and a legal luminary of a sober and cool radiance. Bhide had confessed in open court that even Rao Bahadur Ranade was perfectly convinced of the genuineness of those letters and Tilak himself would have said the same thing had he been put into the box, as in private he had never concealed the

fact of Rao Bahadur Ranade's credence in the letters not being spurious. It is true that Rao Bahadur Ranade refused to pronounce his opinion on these letters in the court of law. It is reported that, if made to answer the question in a court, he threatened to wash his hands clean of the whole affair. In relying on the opinion of persons like Ranade, Bhide and others who were themselves lawyers of no mean ability, Tilak was certainly fully justified, but he did not content himself with borrowing the view of others.

There are reasons to affirm that he had taken every possible care to examine the truthfulness of those documents. He discerned the close consistency of the matter of those letters and the colour of public opinion in that respect. He discerned that some facts that were in vogue with the public were echoed in those letters. After all this kind of minute search and examination Tilak found no reason to suspect the documents to be false. Had Rao Bahadur Ranade appeared before the court of sessions and exhibited the boldness and candour of proclaiming his unalterable belief in the genuineness of those letters, Tilak's side would have been immensely strengthened. Rao Bahadur Ranade's declaration of this character could not certainly lessen by a jot the responsibility of Tilak in the publication of those letters. But the point at issue before the court was,

as we have said before, whether Tilak and Agarkar had taken every kind of precaution before publishing the letters; and we feel confident that Rao Bahadur Ranade's appearance and admission in the court would have gone a long way in settling the issue in favour of Tilak and Agarkar.

Many friends and acquaintances of Tilak and Agarkar and even their pleaders urged upon them the wisdom of tendering an apology. What grounds these people had to suppose that, after an apology, Rao Bahadur Barve would positively withdraw the case, we do not know. That they were sure of such a withdrawal was, however, an undeniable fact. There were other friends and advisers who insisted on fighting to the last, as thereby the *Kesari* would not suffer from the ignominy of eating its own words. Tilak and Agarkar were firm on the point of not offering an apology. Whether the letters were true or false did not matter much. The Maharaja was greatly ill-treated and there was abundant evidence to prove this contention. But the refusal of a certain Mahratta Sardar to allow his letters to be produced before the court in support of this case knocked the bottom out of the resolution of Tilak and Agarkar not to submit to the humiliation of an apology. With his own hands Tilak consigned these important letters to the flames and signed the letter of apology to Rao Bahadur Barve.

The apology with the signatures of Tilak and Agarkar was full and frank. It expressed profound regret at the publication of the defamatory letters which were honestly thought to be true, but which afterwards turned out to be fictitious. This letter of apology was sent to Rao Bahadur Barve on the 7th of July.

Even such a full-throated apology, however, did not produce the result that was expected. For, on the 15th of July, commenced the hearing of the case against Tilak. He was charged with three different offences for three articles appearing in the *Mahratta.* Barrister Inverarity who appeared for the plaintiff referred to the apology at the opening of the case. But at the same time he did not fail to make it clear that the apology was a little too late and therefore futile. Obviously, the idea of the apology occurred to the accused when they felt themselves to be in the waters nearly over head and ears. The mischief of the article was already done and it was fruitless to hope that the apology would restrain the infection caused by the malicious writings. He also pointed out that, if Rao Bahadur Barve were to withdraw the suit in view of the apology, people would probably infer that his own coin did not ring true metal. He further suggested that, unless Tilak and Agarkar were sentenced in the case, the suspicion created in the public mind

against Rao Bahadur Barve would not be eradicated.

Barrister K. T. Telang, on behalf of Tilak, laid stress on the fact that though the Rao Bahadur was severely criticised in the press since 1879, he had taken no care to put a curb upon such criticism, nor had he taken any action against the spread of such evil reports about him in the Kolhapur state itself. On the basis of these facts Barrister Telang argued that there was no wonder if a man like Tilak, who lived at a long distance from Kolhapur, believed in rumours with which the atmosphere then was so thick. On the 17th of July the jury gave its verdict in this case, declaring him to be unanimously guilty on the first count, and by a majority of 7 to 5 on the second and third counts. The second case in which Tilak and Agarkar were jointly charged for the writing in the *Kesari* was decided in less than a quarter of an hour as both the accused pleaded guilty and refused to lead any evidence. Tilak and Agarkar were sentenced each to 4 months' simple imprisonment by Justice Letham.

The passing of punishment against the accused in this case did not, however, put the lid over this question. As water passes over a duck's back, so the judgment of the court in this case did not affect public opinion in the least in this behalf. Popular newspapers continued to voice the suspicious

feelings of the public as regards the treatment given to the Maharaja of Kolhapur by the British Government. To confirm this state of public mind, the Maharaja's condition grew worse and worse. He was transferred from Kolhapur to Ahmednagar where he was kept in rigid confinement and under strict control over his movements. He felt so intolerably oppressed that in sheer despair he spoke to a correspondent of the *Mahratta* that he would probably be another Malharrao. His fears only proved too cruelly true. His end turned out to be far more bitter and pitiful than that of the Maharaja of Baroda. In the meantime, the only son of Rao Bahadur Barve was snatched away by death and the fact of this catastrophe happening to the Rao Bahadur was looked upon by superstitious people as a sign of God's vengeance against him. In these circumstances there was no wonder that public opinion in the Kolhapur case remained unmodified by the adverse judgment of the court. It is easy to deride public opinion and ask in a cynical spirit, how many fools are required to make up the public? It is always difficult in a human court of law to get true and strictly impartial justice; and even if a court might be supposed to be capable of dispensing exceptionally even-handed justice, the last word in this world at least lies with that indecribable, unanalysable, abstract, but nevertheless

potent, effective and autocratic entity which people in common parlance designate as public opinion. Public opinion is public opinion and nothing more and nothing less. It disdains regulation and brooks no appeal against it to any higher revising authority.

The occasion for this kind of public opinion to express itself in an emphatic manner was not long in coming. On the day when the judgment in the case was delivered, Tilak and Agarkar were taken to the Dongri jail. Though they were sentenced to four months' imprisonment, nineteen days were cut off from this period for their good conduct, so that their jail-life lasted only for a hundred days and one more. This hundred and one day's stay in jail has been immortalized by Agarkar by means of a book devoted solely to a description of the Dongri jail-life. We find in this book a detailed description of their daily routine, how they slept, how they ate their food, how they passed their time and so on. In this period Tilak lost no less than twentyfour pounds in weight, The room allotted to them measured 13 feet square; the equipment provided was of the dirtiest sort; the food was nauseating; the blankets given for covering their bodies were the homes of dangerous insects; and the walls of the room were the camps for countless armies of bugs. Twenty five days afterwards they were permitted to

read and write; but the live-long two dozen days in this killing situation so violently told upon their health and their brains that they had hardly any inclination or power to take up a book or ply a pencil. Here when this pair of friends conversed in solitude, they often recollected with pleasure their delightful conversations in the Deccan College. Sometimes discussion unconsciously became so noisy in the heat that the warder had to warn them to keep silent. But in such happy memories and friendly discussions their nights became shortened and the days seemed to have gone out before their proper time. Tennyson has sung as a truth that,

> " A sorrow's crown of sorrows is remembering
> happier things ".

Longfellow also has harped on the same theme and remarked,

> " There is no greater sorrow
> Than to be mindful of the happy time
> In misery."

These two illustrious prisoners, however, for once falsified this truth and though they were in a most disgusting predicament, they derived no end of joy and encouragement from the sweet remembrance of the charming time they had passed together in the Deccan College. The echoes that started when memory played the old tunes on their hearts were probably the sweetest and the happiest to this pair of David and Jonathan

behind the bars! What is more surprising to note is that in jail-life itself they were thinking out plans of how to fit themselves better for imprisonment if more occasions for imprisonment came. Fortunately for Tilak, these schemes hatched in Dongri stood him in good stead in his later terms of imprisonment. But that history is to be unfolded by and by.

Public opinion was violently disturbed by the sentence of imprisonment passed against Tilak and Agarkar. Protest meetings were held and even men like Principal Wordsworth and Honourable Mr. Mandlik forwarded a petition to Sir James Fergusson for releasing them both. The petition however proved futile. Public opinion became the more excited; and the full recognition by the public of the two prisoners was manifested in the magnificient reception accorded to them after their liberation from jail. The gate of the Dongri jail was beseiged by hundreds of people on the morning of the 26th of October to see this pair of unjustly imprisoned patriots, as they came to be regarded hereafter. This grand ceremony of welcoming them was performed more prominently by non-Brahmin leaders like Mr. D. S. Yande and the editor of the *Deenbandhu*. They were taken in a carriage through the city and the progress of the carriage was punctuated with public and private functions in honour of them by the way. When they start-

ed for Poona from Bombay, at Kirkee again the students of the Deccan College paid their respectful and friendly homage to them. The Poona railway station presented an august spectacle when Tilak and Agarkar arrived in the train. The city also entertained them at various ceremonies specially held for offering tributes to these two fighters in the public cause.

Thus Tilak passed through his initial experience of the thorns of physical discomforts, if not torture, and the flowers of public honours both of which fall unavoidably to the lot of a man who dedicates his life to the service of the people. A more remarkable fact in this connection is that he derived this experience in the Kolhapur case. Fate seems to have decreed that there should be a close connection between Tilak and Kolhapur. But obviously the relation between the two in the first part of Tilak's life and the relation in the latter part differ in their colours as widely as the two poles differ, as the white and the black differ. The process of this complete transformation forms an interesting chapter in Tilak's whole career and will be described in the succeeding pages as occasion demands. For the present, we have simply to note that at this stage of Tilak's life he was on the best and the most cordial terms with the state of Kolhapur. This cordiality of feeling bore such a good and lasting fruit that Poona and

the rest of Maharashtra also will ever remain extremely grateful to the state in question.

The two editors of the two papers suffered a great deal for the sake of Kolhapur. But the sufferings did not go in vain. Poona may be said to have obtained the fullest compensation for the sufferings of its two great sons from the state of Kolhapur. It was the willing support of Kolhapur that could justifiably be asserted to have given a name and a habitation to what was but an airy idea of starting a college in the minds of Tilak and Agarkar. The Kolhapur Darbar donated a big sum of money for the establishment of the college and this gift was a fore-runner, as it were, of the smaller donations that flowed out of the treasuries of other native states in Maharashtra. The Fergusson College, the first private college in Poona, was the combined outcome of the gratitude of Abasaheb Ghatge, the regent of Kolhapur, to Sir James Fergusson the Governor of Bombay, the sense of appreciation of the disinterested service done to the Kolhapur cause by Tilak and Agarkar and the profound respect which the princes in Maharashtra came to cherish for the Poona people as their supporters. The opening ceremony of the new building of the Fergusson College on the vast plain near the Chatushringi temple was performed in 1895 by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur himself. For fifteen years the

relations between Poona and Kolhapur remained heartily close and unsuspectingly familiar. Perverse fortune, however, always delights in breaking intimacies and destroying friendships. The vanity of human wishes was once again established. A breach was made in the relationship and it widened more and more as days passed. At last no vestige of good feeling survived between the Maharaja of Kolhapur and either Tilak or Gokhale or even the Fergusson College. But to deal with this complete change of mind would be to anticipate events; and it must, therefore, in justice to the reader be postponed to another chapter.

The popularity and public sympathy which Tilak received in the Kolhapur case stuck to him unfailingly and in an increasing proportion even unto his death. The respect which people had begun to feel for him for starting at a sacrifice the New English School in concert with Chiplunkar, was heightened by the sufferings that he had to undergo in this Kolhapur case. Good fortune always attended him and whenever any difficulty arose, it was ready to serve him at the merest call. Between good fortune and Tilak it was almost a question of "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." A number of friends, both interested and disinterested, stood round him in all his

career through thick and thin, through good weather and bad. When the Kolhapur case was launched against him, he was only a year and a half old in public life; but so powerful was the virtue of his services and political life even in this span that persons were not wanting to stand surety for him in that case. Particularly we may mention the case of a merchant in Poona who, though unacquainted with Tilak or in any way obliged by him, ran to the court with a purse containing five thousand rupees, as soon as he came to know that the court had demanded a security from Tilak.

Often in his after-life, in easier moments he very gratefully referred to the obligations which he owed to this merchant and pointed out to his listeners that the harvest of public service was more plentiful and was gathered much earlier than people were usually prone to expect. Like this merchant, there were pleaders also who were extremely willing to offer Tilak every kind of assistance and service which they were capable of. A defence fund was raised to meet the expenses of the case which must have reached a very high figure, as costly Barristers like Branson and Pheroze Shah Mehta were engaged. Yet the subscriptions lagged much behind in the race with the expenditure in the case. In spite of the pecuniary public help received by Tilak

and Agarkar, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* had to incur a large amount of debt. This debt was undoubtedly a cause for deep mental anxiety to them. But we may venture to guess that the concern they felt for repaying the profuse public obligations was more profound and taxing than the painful uneasiness which the new debt their papers were running into was apt to cause.

CHAPTER VII

FERGUSSON COLLEGE

Ever since the passing of the LL. B. examination, the idea of starting a private college as the apex of his educational activities was revolving in Tilak's mind. But it was plain to him that the fabric of a college could not rise silently as a dream without the sound of hammer or of saw, or without timber, mortar and brick. He had, therefore, to be satisfied in the first instance with the beginning of a school only, though of course the higher ambition did not swim entirely out of his mind. On the contrary, daily it grew strong. The Kolhapur case brought Tilak and Agarkar prominently before public notice; common people came to have a high regard for them; they got the privilege of being acquainted with big worthies; and the possibilities of receiving generous aid from princes glittered before their eyes. Competent colleagues gathered round the New English School and the rising percentage of passes at the matriculation examination raised the school in public estimation. The winning of Jagannath Shankarshet scholarships turned out to be an annual fixture of the School. Liberal education was given an unusually powerful

impetus in the reign of Lord Ripon and the policy of giving grants-in-aid on a liberal scale to private educational institutions was accepted and acted upon, at the instance of the Education Commission under the presidentship of Hunter. The band of young graduates that had been attracted to the New English School at last resolved to burn their boats and devote their lives to the attainment of their educational ideals. The Deccan Education Society was formally constituted and life-members were duly registered. In fact this learned group was so enthusiastic about the starting of a college, that, even before actually starting it, they took to themselves the collegiate titles of professors. This significant anticipation was an unmistakable sign of their aspiration not only for lecturing to the B.A. and M.A. classes in a college but also for securing access to the University with a view to reforming it according to their ideas. People are familiar with the historical paradox of "The king is dead ; long live the king." Tilak earnestly wished that this parallel paradox were applicable in his own case. "He left a college ; He started and joined a college."

Though, however, the fulfilment of his wish had to be adjourned for a few months, the materials for starting a college were fully ready for being moulded and shaped in the proper form. Professors to

teach all subjects to higher students were certainly not wanting. His colleagues and himself made up an excellent professorial staff. Apte and Tilak were masters in Sanskrit and Mathematics. History and economics were selected by Agarkar for his vast reading and unfaltering proficiency. Chiplunkar himself was a mighty hand at English and Sanskrit. Gole had qualified himself in Physics. Thus, the preliminary preparations for a college were completely made up by the New English School group. Before the Education Commission this idea of a college as laying the coping-stone to their educational movements found expression, as also the underlying aim of these people of promoting national education through their institutions. In the report of the school for the year 1883, while laying out plans of work for the years 1884 and 1885, the conductors proclaimed their goal in these words :—

"We have undertaken this work of popular education with the firmest conviction and belief that of all agents of human civilization, education is the only one that brings about material, moral and religious regeneration of fallen countries and raises them up to the level of the most advanced nations by slow and peaceful revolutions."

With this excellent human furniture and material equipment, the Deccan Education Society was formally constituted on the 24th

of October, 1884, in a public meeting held in Poona under the presidentship of Sir William Wedderburn ; Tilak moved the resolution for electing a board of managers of the society, consisting of Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, Sir William Wedderburn, Professor Wordsworth, Justice Telang and others. Speaking on one of the other resolutions, Dr. Bhandarkar eulogized the determination and persistency of the seven newly risen stars who had, by their disinterestedness and liberal thought, brought the school to such a pitch of perfection. He made a particular mention of Tilak whom he described as the first among the seven and who, in his opinion, would have enjoyed a very happy and gilded life with the title of a Rao Saheb added to his name, if he had not taken a fancy for such private education. These seven originators were B. G. Tilak, Namjoshi, V. S. Apte, G. G. Agarkar, V. B. Kelkar, M. S. Gole and Dharap.

In the first week of December, 1884, the Senate of the Bombay University recommended to the Syndicate to affiliate for three years the new college the Deccan Education Society of Poona intended to start. On the 2nd of January, 1885, the Fergusson College was inaugurated in the Gadre Wada, where already the New English School was housed. For the first few days there was sufficient accommodation for it in this

building, but it was thought to be on the whole inconvenient to hold the college classes here for a long time, and therefore the society wrote to Government asking for the grant of the Shanwar Wada for the purposes of the college. Surprisingly, the Government agreed to lend the use of the open space in the Shanwar Wada but asked the society to build its own buildings. The consent of Government, however, was portentously too readily given; and ultimately Government proposed to give the Budhwar Wada instead of the Shanwar Wada. The society approved of the new space. A sum of Rs. 70,000 was collected for the college. On the 5th of March the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was performed with great eclat by Sir James Fergusson. Fortunately or unfortunately, this grand and gorgeous function turned out to be a fruitless affair. For, this corner-stone had to be transferred to the present site of the Fergusson College where it was re-laid. This second ceremony was done by Lord Harris on the 11th of January, 1892. Between the first ceremony and the second, much time had elapsed and many important, nay, disastrous incidents had happened in the history of the college. In 1892, the college had been exalted to be a first-grade college, and Tilak had already resigned from it. The stone of course was one and the same. It was only transplanted from the city

proper to its suburbs. On both occasions it received the same elevating or hallowing touch of the hands of the heads of the presidency. But the stone alone seemed to represent the continuation of the traditions of the college. Men change; time passes; students come and go; but, like Tennyson's *Brook*, the institution of the college remains for ever, and the august silent tomes of dead brick and mortar embody and hand down from generation to generation the living inspiring spirit of which the college is a live expression.

From the starting of the college, the Previous class of course had to be conducted in the building of the New English School. In the beginning the Previous class was, as a matter of fact, the seventh standard carried one step forward. Even a sworn enemy of the new college could not blame the staff for starting this class. They were, all of them, bright scholars and well able to teach the first-year class in the college. According to the present standard in respect of college-rooms or college-halls, the place where the Previous class met may not be found, most probably, inspiring and up to the mark. But what was lacking in space was made up by the professors by their inspiring and spirit-giving lectures. In academic circles the names of V. S. Apte, G. K. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak, V. B. Kelkar and G. G. Agarkar on whom mainly fell the

work of teaching in the college, made a list that excited admiration. Making allowance for personal irredeemable defects, all of them passed for excellent professors. Tilak used to take Sanskrit and Mathematics in the college. He was known to be a man of few words. While teaching, he never liked to travel far away from the text and regale the students with amusing digressions. Students noticed the razor-like sharpness of his intellect in giving suitable replies to questions asked by students who were thereby fully satisfied. In teaching Mathematics he very rarely fingered a chalk-stick. The brighter among the students followed him with great difficulty, the ordinary being left to be only blindly dragged after him. In Sanskrit he engaged the classes in the *Meghduta* (cloud-messenger) of Kalidasa and the *Nitishatak* (a century of verses on morality) of Bhartruhari.

The work of securing the Gadre Wada for the society from its owner was entrusted to Tilak. For this purpose Tilak had to undergo a great deal of trouble, though apparently the work seemed quite easy. For two or three months Tilak had to move from pillar to post and from town to town in order to obtain the consent of the owner to its gift to the society. The ownership was in the name of the daughter of Her Highness Jamnabai Saheb Gaikwad of Baroda State.

The daughter's consent naturally depended upon the mother's, direct access to whom was impossible. A third party, therefore, having great influence with her was necessary. Like a right royal ambassador Tilak had to negotiate with such a third party and had to apply all the strategy of a diplomat in his endeavours. Tilak's mission ended in success and the Wada was secured for the society.

One more fact, most astonishing to us of the present day, in respect of the college, ought to be briefly noticed. Seeing that the sacrificing, enthusiastic band of the Fergusson College had managed it with such commendable efficiency, the Government also proposed to them to take its Deccan College under their protecting wings and conduct it on their own lines. Whether the offer of the Government was well-intentioned or not and whether the Government might have appropriated the money saved for primary education as it professed to do or not, the fact itself of the proposal of giving over its own Deccan College to the Deccan Education Society, was an unchallengable testimonial to the society. There is not the least doubt that if the offer had been implemented, the Deccan College also would have been surely maintained in as much efficiency and completeness as the Fergusson College, surely much more efficiently and much less expensively than it has been

kept by the Government itself. We might well conceive that Tilak would have ruled as the Principal or the Vice-Principal of the Deccan College where he had passed his student-days in the way which we have described in a foregoing chapter. But difficulties even from unexpected quarters arose and the scheme of handing over the Deccan College to the D.E. Society languished as a dead letter. The *Kesari* of course did not feel disappointed at the break-down of the talk of transfer. On the other hand, it proclaimed to the world that though the Deccan College may not be given over, the Fergusson College itself would stand four-square in Poona to meet the Deccan College on a footing of equality, if not to outshine it and look it intrepidly and spiritfully in the face. That this brave prophecy has been unanswerably proved to be true, our own experience attests.

CHAPTER VIII

TILAK *v.* AGARKAR

FEW personal conflicts in the history of Maharashtra are so dramatically interesting as that between Tilak and Agarkar. The real collision between Boyle and Bentley in English literature and the imaginary collision between Absalom and Achitophel described by Dryden in his famous satire, have been known to be instances of notable controversies between two individuals. In recent history, the tussle between Lord Kitchener and Lord Curzon may suggest itself as a parallel to the battle between the two intellectual giants above named. "When Greeks joined Greeks then was the tug-of-war" of the fierce kind. Though perhaps a too squeamish social connoisseur may like to treat the personal controversies between the afore-mentioned pairs of personalities as unpleasant phases of their respective characters, none can deny that the individuals in the fights were high-placed and were possessed of certain supreme outstanding merits. Probably it may be that the very grand defects of their qualities clashed together. Whether the issues that arose between the different opponents were momentous enough to bring two such eminent personalities into ferocious

fight or whether the combatants represented two contradictory and antagonistic types of character, it may be presumed to be certain that, in the history of nations and in the biographies of persons, these personal conflicts will always occupy a not negligible part. Essentially, Tilak and Agarkar, like Lord Kitchener and Lord Curzon, differed in the textures of their temperaments and posturings of their minds. If the masterful purpose of Kitchener came into grips with the pride of Curzon, both lending a super-charm to their wrestling match, we may plausibly remark that in the present case the Cæsarian imperiousness of Tilak dashed itself against the passionate enthusiasm and dithyrambic social fervour of Agarkar.

The earliest beginnings of the conflict of opinion and character between these two personages are to be seen in the course of their discussions, even while both had not taken leave of their college-books. The difference of opinion, particularly on the point of social reform, pursued them in the New English School and in the D. E. Society also. Why, all the while, when both of them were writing articles for the *Kesari* for months together, there still persisted, beneath the smooth surface, the ground-swell of a sharp difference of opinion. For the first five or six years, many hands used to write in the *Kesari*, and with a wholesome spirit of

tolerance and restraint, difficulties that arose on account of different points of view in writing were skilfully avoided or overcome. It was the practice among the writers that whoever wanted to publish accentuated views on certain points should do so under his own name or under the generous heading of "contributed." This convenient bridge of gold over all disastrous differences of opinion was not, however, likely to endure long for heavy traffic. Occasion after occasion came, when the various parts of the beautiful structure began gradually to give way. As years elapsed and subjects appeared for public discussion that instead of harmonising the differences contrived to rub salt into them, Agarkar found it increasingly humiliating that he, wholly responsible for the *Kesari* as he was, should be precluded from using his own house according to his tastes and his conveniences and should be forced to stay in it like a tenant, under severe and galling restrictions of movement and behaviour.

The policies with respect to social reform of Tilak and Agarkar were entirely divergent. Agarkar was rather too extremely outspoken, and perhaps, a little over-zealous in the expression of his views on social reforms. He wanted a complete revolution in the whole Hindu religion, its ritual and practice. He also wanted an immediate social re-

construction and an over-hauling of social customs. He was prepared even to take the aid of law to reform Hinduism and abolish or amend the objectionable traditional customs of Indians. Tilak's policy differed widely from this kind of red-hot gospellism. His attitude was that of a rationalist in this respect. He stood midway between the immovable orthodoxy of those people who are steeped over head and ears in the traditions of olden days, and the road-hog speed of apocalyptic social revolutionists. In several places in the '*Kesari*' Tilak has explained this policy with characteristic candour and clearness. It was never his intention to give offence to public mind by adopting extreme social reforms in religion. Tilak was never in favour of starting a separate sect like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj or the Arya Samaj. He did certainly desire reforms to be introduced into society and religion; but it was his conviction that the best policy to achieve the end with the least shock to the generally conservative public mind was the policy of *festina lente*, the policy of peaceful penetration where desirable and the policy of masterly inactivity when that was impossible. Precept and education were the only two instruments which Tilak wanted to be used in effecting social reform. He never approved of a religion degenerated into dead dogma or overgrown with thick weeds

of spuriously religious customs and practices. What he was vehemently opposed to was the summoning of a foreign agency by means of a law to accomplish a social regeneration, which ought to be, in his opinion, an evolution from within, if it was to prove healthy and beneficial to the public.

This, in brief, was the central point in the whole social controversy that raged in Maharashtra and outside, during the eighties and nineties of the last century. Just as requisitioning of a foreign agency for introducing reforms into society was one of the main issues involved in the controversy, so also was that of priority between social and political reforms. In the Deccan Education Society, nearly all members except Agarkar were of the same mind as Tilak. The party of Tilak got much strength to its elbow from the support which it received from Justice Telang who, in a lecture in Bombay in 1886, proclaimed his views on the topics of the day in substantial agreement with Tilak's position. Ranade and Bhandarkar were ranged on the opposite side. And Tilak had to criticise their policy with much fearlessness. It may also be mentioned here that, though the idea of the first Indian National Congress held in Bombay in 1885 had its roots in discussions of social questions and though it was the object of social reformers to use the Congress-platform as a coign of vantage for preaching

social reform, the Congress itself did not give its approval to such a mix-up of political and social issues, as would in the end result in the scuttling of both.

To fan such deep differences of opinion into fierce flames, some events occurred in Bombay and Poona. The public meeting in the Madhav-bag under the presidency of Rao Saheb Mandlik to protest against the action of social reformers passing themselves off as reflecting the whole public opinion, the deputation of the Shastris of Poona to wait upon the Governor of Bombay to inform him of the orthodox view in this matter, the judgment of the Bombay High Court in what is known as "Dadaji *versus* Rukhmabai case," Justice Ranade's lecture on questions arising out of this judgment which upheld the right of the husband to compel his wife to stay with him and which sentenced Rukhmabai to imprisonment in default, Tilak's reply to it in the *Kesari*,—all this sequence of causes rendered the differences between Tilak and Agarkar more and more bitter. From his writings in the *Kesari* under his own signature, Agarkar seems to have been chafing at the bit and the sense of humiliation was rankling in his heart with growing sharpness. At last in the month of October, 1887, Agarkar snapped all his connection with the *Kesari* which then passed under Tilak as its publisher.

Here ended the co-operation of Tilak and Agarkar in the conduct of the *Kesari*. For more than half a dozen years, they had stood together through thick and thin and carried on all their activities in perfect cordiality of feelings. Tilak, in the light of their previous close intimacy and co-work, pleaded with Agarkar not to think of putting up his horses separately, but to continue in the same place as before. Agarkar could not bring himself to consider favourably the appeal of his friend. Nor was it possible for him to lend his consent to the suggestion of Tilak, of using the columns of the *Kesari* when necessary to propagate his own individual views on social reform only on sufferance. For, really speaking, the ideals of both were poles asunder. It was not to be expected that a powerful personality like Agarkar's, under the domination of a volcanic desire for social reform, could be satisfied with what pittance of space the *Kesari* could spare for his blazing propagandistic articles. Truly speaking, the publication of particular views in the *Kesari* or reservation of a sufficient space in it, was not the real *casus belli* between them both. The differences were far deeper and were not likely to be healed up by this make-shift. Even after Agarkar's secession from the *Kesari*, he contributed off and on to its columns which accepted his writings with great pleasure. The question of

curriculum of education in the Female High School of Poona afforded an opportunity for the pens of Tilak and Agarkar to engage once again in their familiar controversial tourney, as it were. In the course of Tilak's articles on this topic also, the principles to which he steadfastly adhered all his life whenever social questions stood in front of him, have been explained with unequivocal perspicuity. In them Tilak had laid great stress on the necessity of female education, but had strongly criticised the western *genre* which was in evidence in almost every detail in the management of that high school. Here too Tilak had not failed to make certain constructive suggestions as to reform in the system obtaining in the Female High School. And we may make bold to say that the starting of a new institution, years after, for the spread of female education according to the eastern standards by Professor D. K. Karve is a kind of unexpected confirmation of the attitude taken by Tilak to this question.

But Agarkar was nothing if not a root-and-branch social reformer. Like Samson with his bone, he with his pen levelled to the ground all respect for traditions, all love of Indian culture, all pride in Hinduism, all regard for public sentiments; and also pulverized Hindu customs and conventions. He wrote out a fierce reply in the *Kesari* to Tilak's views on female education.

The eristic bouts between these two controversialists became still more violent and interesting, when Agarkar started his newspaper entitled the '*Sudharak*.' The discussions on various social questions of the day and the replies and retorts each gave to the other, created quite a *furore* in those days; and even to-day these polemical writings of the two fighters, swept clean of the dirty and hateful cob-webs hanging round them by the remorseless broom which Time the Vindicator carries in his wallet, are likely to remain enshrined in Marathi literature.

In a way, Agarkar's withdrawal from the *Kesari* is of a piece with Tilak's resignation from the Deccan Education Society. As the majority in the society was against Tilak in respect of the inward management, so it was against Agarkar as regards social questions. After Tilak's withdrawal from the society, however, he did not even think of setting up another educational institution, while Agarkar did start a rival organ of his own. It is proper that the existence of these two papers should be held to be one of the causes of the embitterment of mutual feelings. But even if Agarkar had not issued a special paper of his own, there is no reason to suppose that the controversy might have been less acidulated. There is no material on hand to suspect that the slighest effort was being made by either party to compose the festering differences, or

at least to prevent them from being so venomous.

Whatever it be, in spite of the yawning gulf of differences between them, Tilak and Agarkar met together at a high point with an eternal sun-shine settling upon it, like two cliffs rising on two sides of a valley and, joining heads to create an arch, as it were, beneath which the shrubbery of differences might freely luxuriate and streams of invectives flow as turbulently as ever. They had a supremely sublime regard for each other and it may rightly be said about them, that they never disagreed except in opinion. When Agarkar was on his death-bed, his breast, in spite of the scars it bore, surged with the remembrance of Tilak whom he sent for to disburden himself to. Tilak, on his part, had such a deep tenderness for his friend that the obituary article that he wrote on Agarkar is said to have been written in tears of sorrow. It is said that while penning his tribute to Agarkar, Tilak was overwhelmed with grief so completely that, even at a sitting of four hours, he could not finish the article. It is a fine sportsman-like and chivalrous tribute to a dead hero. It is a trustworthy witness to Tilaks' reverence for his friendly adversary. Tilak referred appreciatively to the virtues of Agarkar, his spirit of self-sacrifice, his devotion to his cause, the intrepidity of his

views, by dint of which he hacked his way through life and rose to a glorious height of greatness. Though he was an impatient social reformer, he was a patriot still of no mean order. Tilak brought prominently forward the underlying fact of his life that his heart snowed under the thought of some of the cruel social customs amongst us, with as much sympathy as was manifested in his deep anxiety for the political and industrial decay of the mother-land. Agarkar was convinced that in the case of India, there was no remedy for its uplift except the one of Swaraj advocated by Mill and Spencer. In fine, the relations between Tilak and Agarkar will continue to point a moral to persons engaged, or likely to be engaged, in public controversies and to adorn a tale of earnest friendly fervour.

CHAPTER IX

RESIGNATION FROM THE D. E. SOCIETY

AS a result of the controversy between Tilak and Agarkar, Agarkar had to sever his connection with the *Kesari*, and Tilak became the declared sole publisher and editor of the paper. Indeed, this controversy will remain embalmed in polemical history like the famous controversies between Boyle and Bentley and Absalom and Achitophel. There is no doubt that in it Tilak came out with flying colours, while his adversary showed the white flag. But when yet the first flush on Tilak's victory was quite unfaded, the ever ironic and jealous Fate was engaged, behind the scenes, in bringing Tilak face to face with a grave concoction. We mean that every day a wedge was being driven between Tilak on the one hand and other members of the Deccan Education Society on the other. Like all differences of opinion those that had begun to rear their ugly head between Tilak and the rest of his colleagues in the Society were, at the outset, exceedingly slender. But once they arise it is always immensely difficult to heal them or even to soften them. They grow as they go. Misunderstandings between persons,

though actuated by nearly the same philanthropic or patriotic or other noble motives, continue to swell like a snow-ball. After the lapse of some time they are transformed into a feeling of antipathy. Whispering tongues indulge freely in the holy game of poisoning the minds which have already become very susceptible and credulous. Words of high disdain and insults even to former heart's best brothers become the pounds, shillings and pence of common talk. Like a madness the wrath with persons whom we once loved, works with great force and alas, even friends of long standing part—never to meet again! Tilak's differences with his co-adjutors and friends in the D.E. Society took on an increasingly bitter aspect. Perhaps being too much mentally oppressed by development of unpleasant relations in what was mostly like a family, Tilak took leave in 1889. After the completion of the leave Tilak rejoined. The fateful moment did come at last and on the 14th of October, 1890, he informed the Society of his resolve to withdraw from it and on the next day formally tendered his resignation which constitutes a document of much significance in his life. Though, however, Tilak had to part with his friends in youth and co-workers, the parting was just similar to the severed friendship picturesquely described by Coleridge in his *Christabel* :—

"They stood aloof, the scars remaining,
Like cliffs which had been rent asunder;
A dreary sea now flows between:—
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder,
Shall wholly do away, I ween,
The marks of that which once hath been."

None of this group of men had, even after Tilak's retirement, allowed his high regard for the others to diminish in any way. His respect for the greatest of his opponents, G. K. Gokhale, is too well-known to the public to need any mention of it here. Their mutual differences were expressed on a higher plane and were too elevated to sour personal good-will or to mar personal reverence for each other.

This trait of Tilak's character, this rare gift of friendship independent of disagreements in thought, can be illustrated by many instances if we anticipate events in his life. The obituary notices which Tilak wrote in the *Kesari* after the deaths of Ranade, Agarkar, and Gokhale are master-pieces of Marathi literature. There cannot be found even the feeblest smell of malice against the deceased even though every one of them was Tilak's opponent. On the contrary, they breathe an atmosphere of the most exalted regard for them and full appreciation of their uncommon abilities and qualities. As soon as the news of Gokhale's death reached his ears at Sinhgad where he had gone for rest after his six years' jail-life,

he motored down to lead the funeral procession and deliver the funeral address which was extremely touching and pathetic. His affection for D. A. Khare also is likely to stand out as exemplary. For though they diferred in their opinions, the friendship between the two never suffered the slightest diminution or attrition.

Well; the original document of Tilak's resignation is at present in the archives of the Deccan Education Society. It has not yet been fully published. On particular occasions references to certain points in it have undoubtedly been made either by Tilak or his opponents. But *in extenso* it has never come before the public for one reason or another. We have therefore appended the whole of it for the complete information of the readers, which might enable them to form their own judgments on the issues involved.

It will be seen that it contains 22 articles filling about 40 pages. It constitutes a regular affidavit of Tilak and in his biography it carries immense value. The resignation came up for consideration before the council of the D. E. Society on the 21st of November, 1890. Professor V. S. Apte read out some papers relative to it. The chairman of the council moved a formal resolution of regret at Tilak's withdrawal from the Society. Two other members of the

council, however, proposed that the resigner should be asked to explain the causes of the resignation before the 6th December, 1890. This amendment was carried. Thereupon Justice Ranade read the correspondence between Tilak and Namjoshi. It was about the possibility of settling the dispute by an arbitration. Professor Apte expressed his view that the submission of the quarrel to enquiry and award by an arbitration would not be of any use. In the end, the meeting of the council only decided that all the papers with respect to the resignation should be forwarded for proper disposal to the managing committee of the council.

Dr. Bhandarkar had written his own remarks on the resignation to the effect that it did not seem possible to induce Tilak to withdraw it, that the differences between Tilak and other members of the Society had a long history behind it, and that though there might have been some deflection from the fundamental principles on which the Society was originally founded, Tilak's imputation of dishonesty to the members of the managing board could not be overlooked. The council again met on the 2nd of February, 1891 and on the motion of Mr. Selby it passed a resolution condemning Tilak's charge as baseless. This resolution was forwarded to Tilak. Tilak replied to it on the 19th of February. The council again con-

firmed its previous resolution. And this resolution put the seal upon the question of Tilak's resignation.

The document of resignation itself is so thorough-going and exhaustive that it is tautologous to descant upon it any further in this place. We have not come across any complete refutation of the points and allegations made by Tilak in it. Perhaps, they have not been since then bandied backward and forward in public controversy. Occasions of course there have been when some small skirmishes were fought about certain minor issues related to the resignation. But the principal features of the resignation have never been so far made subjects of heated oral or written disputes.

Shorn of all excrescences, the pivotal point in dispute between Tilak on the one hand and other members of the Society on the other appears to be, whether members of the Society should devote all their time and talents to the service of the Society or not; that is to say whether the Society was or was not to be conducted on pure Jesuitical principles. Professor Apte had, from the moment of his admission into the Society, been exempted from this Jesuitical principle. Other members like Agarkar and Gokhale certainly wanted the rigid rule to be relaxed, if possible. Tilak knew that in this respect he was in a minority. But he insisted that the question was so

important and basic that even a minority of one must possess the right of expressing its opinion. That the principle of Jesuitism was the very foundation of the D. E. Society has not been gainsaid or held to be untrue by even the opponents of Tilak. However, it has to be remembered that in an institution, generally speaking, there is nothing that cannot be altered, amended or otherwise added to by the majority in it. Even the Memorandum of Association of a company can be changed, provided the necessary majority is secured. Though finally Tilak had to retire from the Society, none can deny that he had planted himself on the surest of pedestals, re-inforced in its solidity by the unchallenged fact that, while Agarkar put his half share of the guerdon received from the Maharaja of Indore into his private purse, Tilak, the great man of principle that he was, surrendered his portion into the coffers of the Society. It is true that in so far as Tilak could find no alternative to resignation, he was defeated. But in the opinion of persons who place principles over personalities, this defeat will be counted among those defeats which Montaigne has declared to be more triumphant than victories.

In the post-resignation public controversy it was given out that the question of taking grant-in-aid from the Government was also an item in the matters of dispute

between Tilak and the Society. But in the resignation itself this point is not discussed at any great length or with any emphasis. An impartial perusal of the resignation, without any pre-conceived notions, leaves on the mind of the reader an impression that the principle of Jesuitism alone was the bull-point in the whole controversy. To us however it seems that, without any prejudice to the high principle itself, if all the members of the Society had been otherwise better disposed towards one another in their private and public relations, the mobiloil of this mental cleanness and unfailing spirit of *camaraderie* would have served to lubricate the working of the machinery of the Society and to make the friction less disastrous than it proved to be. Friendship at one point, more often than not, means friendship at some other point or points. Unfortunately, the persons that were engaged in this unseemly civil strife had been so irredeemably estranged from one another that, for some time before the open outbreak of the controversy, they had ceased to be even on speaking terms. In the school where they had perforce to come together, they could not forbear from giving rise to disputes that attracted the prurient attention of inquisitive students. In fact, the conflict was personal and was brewing,

for months past, before the actual inevitable rupture.

As a matter of fact, Tilak was a man ever prepared to obey the mandate of the majority for discipline, even if it went against the grain of his opinions. Notwithstanding this, it was never his nature to bear with patience any humiliation inflicted upon him by his opponents or sit with lips closed in an assembly in which his views did not prevail. On the whole, it was well that he gave a wide berth to the Society in view of the endless scrimmages with colleagues and growing disrespect at their hands. If he had chosen to crib, cabin and confine himself within the Society itself inspite of its suffocating and, to him, unhealthy atmosphere, his genius and his abilities would not have flowered as they did outside it. The loss to the Society was a great gain to the public life of India. In whatever light we consider Tilak's resignation, after tendering it he was at a critical parting of ways. It marked a new direction for his career and involved the surrender of his first educational ideal under the influence of which he decided to exchange the rod for the brief and founded an institution for the spread of education. That this enforced lapse of Tilak from the original path was one of the most fortunate and blessed events in the story of our nation, his subsequent career convincingly vindicates.

CHAPTER X

THE CRAWFORD CASE

EVEN before Tilak had resigned from the Deccan Education Society, he was coming to be recognized as a public leader next to Ranade. In a private meeting held in Poona to discuss the question of holding the Congress there in the year 1889, Tilak was deputed along with Namjoshi to go to Bombay and do the needful in inducing the Bombay people to give the honour of holding the session of the Congress at Poona, as Bombay had already her turn in 1885. Unfortunately, however, on account of Rao Sahib Mandlik's demise the ambition of Poona people was scotched and they had to remain content only with holding the second Bombay Provincial Conference. By this conference Tilak was appointed its secretary with G. K. Gokhale and Namjoshi as colleagues.

The duties of the Congress and the conference were more or less stippled and scanty enough to be discharged in his odd moments. But a more important, solid and absorbing work of public significance was being cooked up for him. Of course, Tilak took it upon himself entirely of his own free will. But its successful discharge served to signalize before the public some of Tilak's qualities of public

leadership and to mark him out as the coming man. It was with respect to what is familiarly described in Maharashtra as the 'Crawford case'. This work had a double aspect. One of it was to expose the conduct of Crawford as a Revenue Commissioner in the matter of taking bribes which he had developed as an art and carried on as a flourishing trade. The second was to defend and protect the Mamlatdars and other people who had deposed against Crawford or otherwise given evidence and proofs against him. The first part of the work was undertaken by the Government itself, and Tilak's interest in that part was simply to exhibit to the public view the moral sense of Europeans who were always in the habit of stigmatizing Indians as occupying a much lower place in the ethical order.

The second part with which Tilak was mainly concerned was more difficult, as it was more beneficial to Indians. Personally speaking, between Tilak and Crawford there was not the ghost of the remotest relation. If a connection of the fortieth remove is at all to be established between them, it may be recalled to mind that Tilak's father had lost in the saw-mill of Crawford a sum of more than one thousand rupees which Crawford had not cared to repay. It is too far-fetched to imagine that Tilak arrayed himself against Crawford to visit upon him

the sin of wrong he had done to Tilak's father. Possibly, the biblical fact of God's visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children may be true; but the supposition that the son Tilak meant to wreak vengence upon Crawford by means of this case for father Tilak, is nothing but moon-shine. There is no evidence to support such an allegation. There is no evidence also in his character to warrant such a gross insinuation. Crawford himself, however, did not fail to exhibit his sordid mind. As soon as he learnt in England the news of Tilak being sentenced to imprisonment in 1897, he published a pamphlet stinking with such unrestrained and libellous abuse of Poona Brahmins and Poona newspapers that it would not be good manners to mention it here. But Crawford distributed it widely free of cost.

After much preliminary investigation into the infamous doings of Crawford, the Government appointed a Commission to try him. Government was fully persuaded of a prosperous bribing practice which Crawford started and encouraged with reckless assiduity. But the great difficulty in the matter was to bring Mamlatdars and other accomplices to tender open evidence of having given bribes to Crawford or of his having received such huge illicit gratification from other people. Should they or should they not submit themselves to this kind of legal

confessional before the Commission? That was the question. And there was the rub. Having realized the false position into which the Mamlatdars in question had been flung, the Government had certainly granted them amnesty which ought to have blown away from their minds all anxious fears about their future. Among Indians themselves there were two opinions. One side opined that, though even certain Englishmen, Anglo-Indians and the Government had drawn the sword against Crawford, in the end blood would prove thicker than water and all of them would again join together, leaving the Mamlatdars with their admissions in the lurch, to be kicked by the ass of law or to be devoured by the wolf of public opinion. The other view was that, the people of India must come forward without fear to exploit the excellent opportunity to tear off the mask of honesty which civilian officials and the Whites in general are accustomed to wear and from behind the shelter of which they aim poisoned shafts of ridicule and condemnation against Indians being less actuated by motives of probity in the management of public affairs. Most of the leading persons in Poona belonged to the latter party. In the issue of the *Kesari* of 2nd October, 1888, Tilak urged upon the Mamlatdars and other people to help proper dispensation of justice in this case by boldly bring-

ing into light all the hidden facts pertaining to it.

The expected, however, did not fail to happen. The Commission completely exonerated Crawford from the charge of taking bribes. It accused him of having contracted debts from persons under him and as a punishment for that offence, Crawford was cashiered. Thus, while Crawford was freed, the Mamlatdars were caught up. Their misfortune was dire. Quite a broadside of criticism was fired against them by the Anglo-Indian papers and even all the Brahmins and other Poona people were not allowed to go free.

From the beginning, Tilak had championed the cause of these victimised Mamlatdars and after the report of the Commission, naturally, his mind came to be severely exercised by a nightmare of anxiety for them. On the 21st of May, 1889 he warned the Government to fulfil to the letter their plighted words to the Mamlatdars. But the Government threw away its own pledges and with unashamed non-chalance, it reduced some Mamlatdars, degraded others, stopped the increment of pay of some and deprived others of some of their rights. This topsy-turvydom of the Government's justice roused Tilak's mind to a fine frenzy of patriotic righteousness and under its impulse, Tilak's pen shot forth an article in defence of the ill-starred Mamlatdars. Once again he

urged the Government to do the right and the just by the Mamlatdars and threw the whole responsibility on the Government itself. As it was, the Government set the tone of morality and the governed only took it up. He put the Government on its own good behaviour by remarking that, when the Government itself in full knowledge of the affairs was unable for months to curb the mischief of Crawford, it was impossible for helpless people to be unscrupulous when under the regime of Crawford, fairness and integrity were wofully discounted. Those who stooped to pander to Crawford were much less at fault than the Government under whose very wide-ranging eyes one of its own hierarchy could, with impunity, maintain a Bribe Exchange or a Corruption Bazaar!

The whole case of the Mamlatdars came into a full glare of publicity after the public meeting held on the 1st of September, 1889, mainly at the instance of Tilak, on the Kabutar Khana grounds. Resolutions were passed in the meeting in favour of the Mamlatdars on the lines on which Tilak was defending their case. To this meeting attaches a special significance in Tilak's biography. The speech which Tilak delivered in this meeting was his first public utterance as such. For, though he was nine years old in public life he had never appeared in the lime-light and had always loved to work

behind the scenes without self-advertizement. His maiden speech was said to be more effective than the matronly performances of others in the meeting. In his remarks he did not mince matters. He described the action of the Government with respect to the Mamlatdars as amounting to treachery. He quoted instances from English history in which similar amnesty was granted to certain high-placed witnesses and in which amnesty was held to condone certain transgressions against law. He asked in a defiant spirit, why Indians alone should be disqualified from holding office on account of their corrupt practices, when Englishmen in the same category in England had not been declared under parallel circumstances to be contraband from service. In the end, he requested the Government not to make fish of one Mamlatdar and flesh of another but to treat all alike in the spirit of the engagement it had made with them and on the strength of which they had dared to make a clean breast of the circumstances in which both they and Crawford were enmeshed.

Eight of the Mamlatdars were, however, carried like lambs to the slaughter-house, that is to say, were summarily dismissed. To protect the rest, a bill was moved by the Government of India in its Council, but it did not go the length it ought to have covered. By means of it, the Mamlatdars were

saved from the civil or criminal prosecution against them. The question of their dismissal from service or of the cancellation of pecuniary benefits for them was left untouched. Tilak noticed this vulnerable point in the bill and expressed his hope that Lord Reay, in his love of uprightness, would refuse to give his assent to the bill, as Councillor Watson had declined to put his signature to the false document prepared by Lord Clive. People also by telegrams and applications dinned this very view into the hard ears of the Government; but nothing was of any avail. And the bill as it was, took the form of an Act. All the doors in India were thus closed for the Mamlatdars and only the far-off avenue of the British Parliament remained.

None of the luckless Mamlatdars manifested the nerve to take their case over the sea. All the dozen Mamlatdars relied upon Tilak for fighting their case in England and Tilak, too, a man of iron will and an enemy of half-things that he was, readily consented to be their protagonist. In those days, it was no easy task for a comparative junior like Tilak to carry on work in England. His instinctive resourcefulness stood him in good stead at the moment when he undertook the vicarious work. "Sudden, a thought came like a full blown rose, flushing his brow." He felt that he could do something through Charles Bradlaugh who was to visit India in

December for attending the Congress. With the help of Digby, Tilak kept Bradlaugh fully informed of the details of the case and supplied him with other necessary material. Tilak carried on a fairly full correspondence with Digby and sent to him his own suggestions as to further movements, drafts to be forwarded to the Parliament, etc. Digby's replies to Tilak show how much he admired Tilaks' statesmanlike proposals and the great tenacity with which he was doing his work. It appears that Tilak was contriving to place all the papers in the Crawford case on the Parliamentary table for the knowledge of the members, and to see that the Secretary of State refused his consent to the bill as passed at Simla. He was also trying to get moved a supplementary bill in the Parliament in the interest of the Mamlatdars, securing to them all their rights and privileges under the amnesty.

Notwithstanding all these activities of Tilak and his workers in England, nothing could be achieved in the Parliament. There is no doubt that what Tilak did was the sea-mark of endeavours in England. But those who have seen the working of legislatures might not wonder how, broadly speaking, they present the spectacle rather of a graveyard of private bills and resolutions than of a womb sending forth popular, beneficent or benevolent measures. Nevertheless

Tilaks' efforts brought some relief to the Mamlatdars. Though the direct effect was not to be definitely measured, indirectly the public sympathy which Tilak roused in favour of the Mamlatdars and the agitation maintained both in India and in England, bore fruit. The Mamlatdars embroiled in the Crawford case were divided into three classes. And they were treated differently according to the class in which they fell. Those who gave bribes under compulsion or any other kind of difficulty were retained in service without any material change in their pay, etc. But those who indulged in the vice of bribery, without any excuse or justification with the selfish object of grinding their own axes, were considered as unfit to receive any favour from Government.

Excepting the greatest offenders who deserved no quarter, all other Mamlatdars were well served up by the work which Tilak did for them. Most of them were posted again in life to different paying jobs. Besides, the current of public sympathy was so changed that the term 'Crawford Mamlatdar' ceased to be an opprobrium ; and as they themselves, like wounded soldiers returning from the battle-field, wore the epaulettes of the title with honour and pride, so people also regarded them as objects of reverential curiosity not unmixed with sympathy. Even to-day there are a few of these

Mamlatdars living who never speak of their obligations to Tilak without their cheeks being suffused with gratitude for him. Soon after the agitation was over, they presented to Tilak a silver-watch and a scarf. Tilak wore both as trophies and at least the watch with the slender silken string tied to it, was his life-long companion. The Crawford case may be understood to be the first public cause which Tilak took upon himself, and the way in which, from start to finish, he fought it out, convinced the people that a new star had begun to twinkle in the sky. The more long-eyed among the people saw in the distance with some degree of certitude that, if it were true that all the spring was hidden in the single bud and the low-ground nest of the lark held the joy which was to herald the feet of many rose-red dawns, Tilak would be a living exemplification of the truth !

CHAPTER XI

THE *KESARI* AND THE *MAHRATTA*.

(1887-1891)

THE resignation from the Deccan Education Society and the close of the Crawford case left Tilak free to find out the means of his livelihood. He had before his mind two schemes. One was to start a ginning factory and the other to open a law-class.

The first, of course, required some capital of which Tilak had none. But he succeeded in enlisting two other partners and at last set up the factory at Latur, in the Nizam's dominions. It was not possible for Tilak to manage it in person. Nevertheless, he kept his nephew, Mr. Vidwans, on his behalf, to look to the affairs of the factory in co-operation with the other two partners. Tilak had to suffer, however, the experiences which partnership always bears in its womb, till 1897 when Mr. Vidwans having returned to Poona on account of the first sedition case against Tilak, he shut up shop at Latur. During the existence of the factory there were some alternate years of a little profit and much loss, so that, as was expected, Tilak could divert no quantity of monetary water for the working of his domestic mill-wheel.

The law-class was a profitable source of

income, no doubt. As soon as he was free from the preoccupation of the Crawford case the advertizement of his law-class appeared in the *Kesari* and it was opened in Vinchurkar's Wada where Tilak was staying. This class yielded to Tilak an amount of Rs. 150 on the strength of which Tilak kept up his family. Students were coached up in the course of studies prescribed for both the years of the LL. B. From time to time Tilak had to take an assistant and among those that Tilak had selected for some time were Mr. L. R. Gokhale, (a pleader of Poona), Mr .V.A. Patwardhan (the Crawford-Mamlatdar and a pleader) and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. The more difficult of the subjects, viz., Hindu law, Evidence act, Contract act and Equity, Tilak himself used to teach. His lectures on Hindu law were reputed to be most learned, critical and exhaustive. Such was the brilliant light of learning and deep thought he shed over his lectures in the law-class, that even some young practising pleaders were attracted to his class. Hindu law was his special favourite subject; and he had an idea of preparing a digest of it, persisting in his mind for long. Perhaps, had he been able to steal sufficient leisure then, he would surely have put his profound knowledge and deep study of Hindu law into a book form. But the project remained unaccomplished and people have been left to mourn the still-birth of a great

and good book which, without exaggeration, might have been entitled to the Miltonic description as "the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

The reason why Tilak had to fall upon these two means of subsistence was that, till 1891, he had not become the owner of the *Kesari* in full title. Since Agarkar's departure from the *Kesari*, the Arya Bhushan Press and the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* papers together made up a concern belonging to Tilak, Prof. Kelkar and H. N. Gokhale. But these three did not make equal yoke-horses. The *Kesari* was ever since 1888 a tolerably paying proposition. Its twin the *Mahratta* was a never-do-well. Gokhale looked at the concern in the cold light of a business man. Tilak and Prof. Kelkar could pull well together till 1891. Differences of opinion became gradually more pronounced between them and the two papers edited by these two men—the *Kesari* by Tilak and the *Mahratta* by Prof. Kelkar—presented the spectacle of two yoke-horses breaking loose and attacking each other. It was therefore felt necessary that the reins of these two should be in a single hand. Tilak's innate propagandistic spirit impelled him to pick up the two papers along with the debt of Rs. 7000 incurred for them. And the press was taken by Gokhale and Prof. Kelkar. The burden of Rs. 7000 was rather difficult to be

borne by Tilak in his poor circumstances. He had therefore no alternative to fishing for some surer sources of income.

Professor Kelkar's connection with the *Kesari* ranked only next to Tilak's and Agarkar's. In respect of the *Mahratta* it was even more intimate than Tilak's. Between the years 1883 and 1891 Prof. Kelkar mainly conducted the *Mahratta*. He acquired a well-deserved reputation for teaching English in the college classes as much as for writing English in the *Mahratta*. It is said that he used to write out the whole of the *Mahratta* within two days. His English style was simple, pure and dignified. Till 1891 Tilak and Prof. Kelkar worked together in happy concord and certainly what they achieved in co-operation redounded to the credit of each. Unfortunately, in that year, a comparatively minor question emerged in public controversy, which led up to the final rupture between these two.

While, thus, his co-workers were separating from Tilak, quite a widening circle of friends, followers and admirers was drawing itself around him. In the interval between Tilak's resignation from the D.E. Society and his assumption of the full proprietorship of the two papers, he undertook certain public duties which gathered about him an increasing number of people. While the agitation in the Crawford case was going on, the Mamlat-

dars involved in the case used to come together for the benefit of his advice. After the close of this case, Tilak used to attend and participate in the discussion of the club which used to meet in the Sarvajanik Sabha. But here, too, differences of opinion and clashes of temper reached a climax and Tilak ceased to frequent it. Since 1891–1892, however, Tilak's house itself became the hub, as it were, of his lifelong political and other public work, which people by the thousand made a point of visiting as a shrine of pilgrimage. And never till his death, if even then, did it cease to be a centre of public and private discussion in respect of some actual movement in hand or the outline of any future propaganda. The year 1891–1892 marks a mile-stone on the road of Tilak's public life. The idea conceived in 1880 by the young promoters of the New English School of starting the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, had already been realized. Along with the further development of the papers, however, they became a prey to a kind of internal dry-rot. By this time his original colleagues had parted company with him for one reason or another. He, of all of them, took upon himself finally the complete responsibility and full ownership, with the incubus of debt, of the two papers; and he retained them under his charge till the last day of his life in the most flourishing condition both in respect of their income and

their use as the most powerful and effective organs of public agitation and public service. Even so early as 1891 he had the looks of a brave and bold fighter standing, in the midst of high seas, on a deck deserted by his comrades, and weathering the storm of public life with the masterly skill and undaunted confidence of a veteran. It was the morning of his public life but it was certainly the harbinger of the bright day that was to succeed.

CHAPTER XII

A CHAPTER OF CONTROVERSIES

BETWEEN the years 1890 and 1897, Tilak was engaged in a number of public controversies on more or less serious subjects. From first to last his career was like that of a stormy petrel. He was always whirling in the midst of the high and roaring seas of hot public discussions and rarely on the safe land of peace and tranquillity. There is no doubt that Tilak himself originated some of the activities which he undertook and carried on in his life-time. But there were others which he himself did not conceive. These activities had their springs in the controversies of the day. Whoever may have been the immediate cause of these controversies, they seem to have been in a way inevitable. For, both sides of the controversies were inspired with motives of national regeneration. The chief merit of Tilak which these controversies demonstrated was his method of entering a controversy and so conducting it as to come out of it with flying colours. His mind was cast in such a mould that the more powerful were his opponents, the more truculent would his nerve and vehemence grow. He was a leader in opposition. And in a sense his intrepid pugnacity was one

of his chief qualities which won for him the title of a campaigning and terrorizing propagandist, agitator, and controversialist.

The main controversies that had fiercely heated the public life of those days were in connection with (1) the Age of Consent bill (2) The Gramanya or social ostracism (3) The Sharada Sadan of Pandita Ramabai (4) Hindu-Moslem riots (5) Indian National Congress and Social Conference and lastly (6) The revolution in the Sarvajanik Sabha. Except the Hindu-Moslem riots, none of them concerned or otherwise affected the Government. The controversies round these topics assumed severe and bitter proportions. And high personages of the time were ranged on one side or the other in them. The Age of Consent bill, however, occupied the dominant place in the discussions. Before this controversy Tilak had of course to break his lance in the quarrels with the D. E. Society. But after all the society-affair was comparatively minor and somewhat of a private nature, to boot. It was not so with the Age of Consent bill controversy. It was a question of public importance. And in it he had to meet face to face elderly giants like Dr. Bhandarkar. Tilak led what looked like a forlorn hope against the entrenched and intellectually more established personages and made of it a triumphant conquering army.

This agitation took its source in the en-

deavours of Malabari for the enactment of a measure raising the age of consent. Malabari was exerting himself in England to induce the British Government to ask the Government of India to undertake legislation for the purpose. He had published a programme of his own and in India signatures were being taken in support of the programme. The first mention of these half-secret operations of Malabari is to be found in the issue of the *Kesari* of 12th August, 1890. By the 30th of September, these activities assumed so much importance, that in a special leading article Tilak had to warn credulous people against being caught napping. With respect to this question there were two or three schools of thought. The social reformers were, of course, whole-hoggers, and welcomed Government interference in social matters to any extent. One school of thought was inclined to allow legislation for those alone who were prepared to carry out the provisions of the act themselves on oath. Some persons declared themselves to be uncompromisingly opposed to any intervention in social affairs by the Government, but at the same time, they were in favour of the people themselves agreeing to effect certain urgent constructive social reforms with the consent of all and in the spirit of Hindu culture.

A public meeting to express opinion on

the subject under discussion was decided to be held on the 26th of October, 1890. Several notices of resolutions pertinent to the questions were given by the leading citizens of Poona of those days, representing various shades of opinion above indicated. Tilak had appended his signature with some others to a resolution which recommended punishment to those who would break the laws of social reform enacted on their own initiative and with a definite assurance from a sufficient number of persons to abide by it. The draft resolution also suggested a few immediate reforms which demanded the limit of 16 years for a girl's marriage and 20 for a boy's marriage, which prohibited men from marrying after 40, and which insisted that, if at all they were to marry, they should marry widows. In addition to this, Tilak sent a special personal note of his own. In it he made it clear that, in his opinion, the policy of foisting social reforms on all people by the aid of law would end in disaster rather than any benefit to the society. To his mind, it was essential that those who fought for social reforms ought to bind themselves to behave in practice according to the provisions of the act which they sought to impose upon others. and that a fixed quota of persons swearing to carry out the proposed social reforms in their own families were made a condition precedent to asking for legislation from the

Government. These views of Tilak were not palatable to hot social reformers and the anti-Tilak group drafted a counter-proposal.

The meeting in the Tulsibag temple was attended by over 5000 people. Tilak read out the nine points of Malabari and made a speech describing the probable evil effects of them on the society. He informed the audience that it was the object of that meeting to collect signatures of persons who were against any social reform bill which was not in tune with public opinion. Before, however, the opponents of Tilak had expressed their opinion, the Tulsibag meeting was declared over. On the 1st of November in the same year another meeting was held in the Joshi Hall. Here too Tilak had his full say and explained his views on social reform in an unequivocal manner. He again pointed out the evil of driving a wedge between the people on the one hand and the social reformers on the other. In such matters those few who were bent on reforms ought to teach people by practice rather than precept, and thus they should appeal to the people for the willing reception by them of reforms in social matters. He feelingly impressed upon the mind of the audience the necessity of the more intellectual people taking the lead in social reforms and popularizing them among the less educated masses. It was his firm belief that if social

reform was to make any progress at all, it would be only by means of the process he had indicated. The multitude of people was always conservative by instinct. And it could only be made to move forward by coaxing and convincing. It could never be hustled into taking long and high jumps in the field of social reform. Ranade spoke afterwards. But nothing was concluded definitely.

While this controversy was raging in Poona, far away in Calcutta the now famous 'Age of Consent Bill' was moved in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 9th of January, 1891. The mover explained in his speech that the bill did not create any new offence but was designed simply to raise the age of consent from 10 to 12. He also made it clear, that the Government had no intention, whatsoever, to meddle with the religious practices and marital rites. Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra opposed the bill tooth and nail and warned the Government that it would create deep discontent among the people of India. He asked the Government to imagine what the state of the English public mind would be if a law were enacted in England requiring dead bodies to be cremated rather than buried! He expressed his fear that the measure under consideration would retard social reform rather than help it. The Viceroy, in his concluding speech, endeavoured to convince the people that the provisions

of the bill did not go against the proclamation of Queen Victoria. In the course of discussion over the bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, it was made evident that the introduction of the bill would be a signal for the beginning of a hot controversy between the orthodox and the unorthodox sections of the people.

These fears were fully borne out by the succeeding controversy. In a leading article of the 20th of January, the *Kesari* pointed out how, in spite of the Government's protestations to the contrary, in practice the bill would affect certain religious customs of the Hindus. Again, it warned the people to express their opinion on the question and apprise the Government of it; for the views of the social reformers reached the Government's ears sooner and more distinctly than those of the orthodox. For nearly two months after this, the columns of the *Kesari* groaned under the weight of varied discussion of this topic and the public mind too was deeply engrossed with it. Tilak continued to criticise both kinds of persons who were in favour of the bill; that is to say, persons like Rao Bahadur Nulkar and Telang who were prepared to throw to the wind Hindu religion and Hindu customs, and persons like Dr. Bhandarkar who sought to buttress the bill by inventing religious authorities for it. It was not very difficult

for Tilak to deal with and overpower the first group of the protagonists of the bill. But the work of refuting with sufficient cogency the arguments put forward by an erudite scholar like Dr. Bhandarkar and to falsify the interpretations put by him upon certain Hindu religious texts to bring them into line with modern social reform, was not so easy.

It was in Tilak's dialectical fencing with Dr. Bhandarkar, that his critical intellect and his skill in controversy became supremely evident. The controversy between these two had a peculiar interest for the public; for it was, on the face of it, a wrestling match between two apparent unequals. Surely, this match must have appeared to the spectators much in the light of the encounter between Orlando and Oliver in one of Shakespeare's plays. As in that conflict, in this also the younger of the two combatants, Tilak, who was quite a cub in comparison with Dr. Bhandarkar, carried off the palm, to the wonder and dismay of all. Tilak replied to Dr. Bhandarkar's arguments, point by point, and demolished his theories in a masterly manner. The motive of all his writings was to prove that the bill would necessarily result in Government interference with Hindu religious beliefs in one form or another. He exposed the hair-splitting interpretations put

upon the Hindu scriptural code of rules of behaviour and tore Dr. Bhandarkar's views almost to tatters.

The publication of this view in the *Kesari* by Tilak set the ball rolling. Public meetings began to be held against the measure in several places, chiefly, in Bombay and Amraoti. In Bombay City itself, though Telang was in favour of the bill, the current of public opinion flowed voluminously in the direction of Tilak's opinions. Pandits like Rajaram Shastri Bodas, pleaders like Mr. (now Sir) Chimanlal Setalwad and learned men like Professor Jinsiwale and M. C. Apte, were opposed to the bill. The same fact was observed in Bengal also. Big Zamindars and eminent Barristers gravely objected to the bill. It may be noted as a surprising fact that, in a public meeting in Bombay, Apte supported Tilak and upheld Tilak's idea of pinning down those very social reformers to the practical application of those reforms in their own cases as a preparation and inducement for the lesser people to follow. A private meeting of Shastris was held in Poona and resolved against the bill. A huge public meeting was held in Bombay in Madhavbag, attended by nearly ten thousand people. An application against the bill was signed at the place of the meeting by five thousand men. Tilak was present at this meeting in person to congratulate it on

behalf of Poona. Eight days after this, that is, on the 15th of February, 1891, a similar tremendous throng of people gathered in front of the Shanwar Wada in Poona. Here also, Tilak read out the application against the bill to the serried ranks of the people and then and there, no less than two thousand and five hundred signatures were taken.

"Where God hath a temple, the Devil will have a chapel." The pro-bill persons naturally thought of holding countervailing meetings. But they boggled at the merest idea of calling such public meetings. The propaganda of Tilak's party had marched with such triumphant majesty, that they were not sure how many people would care to attend their meetings. To arrange a meeting was to them to court disastrous ridicule. To avoid calling one was to show the white feather. Anyhow, one or two so-called public meetings were got up. The fun, however, of the Satara meeting was that the paucity of attendance was compensated by the placing of volumes of the Webster's Dictionary on the empty chairs. The rowdy and routed meeting in the Krida-bhuvan also shared much the same fate. A meeting, with the ostensible motive of giving it a public character but with the secret intention of allowing into it only those who were in favour of the bill, was held by Poona social reformers in

that well-known open space belonging to a gentleman familiarly known as 'Kelkar Master.' Those who wanted to get in, were required to sign their names on a paper in attestation of their approval of the bill. Hundreds of people, young and old, swarmed round the place of meeting and demanded entrance. In the melee, it became difficult, even for the Police Inspector, either to control the dissatisfied people outside or to disperse them. Their demand seems to have been that if it was a public meeting, the public must be permitted to enter without any restriction or inhibition. Dr. Bhandarkar told the police-official that it was a private meeting; but the hand bills told the opposite fact. The thousand and one voices growing louder with the increasing passion of the hour could naturally have no other end but blows and fisticuffs.

At last, doors were smashed and then the place resembled a veritable pandemonium. When the crowd appeared to be getting out of hand and when it was seen that it was dangerous to proceed with the meeting, some of the prominent men left the angry crowd to itself and took shelter in the adjoining house. Tilak and his friends, though opposed to the bill, were present in the meeting with the resolute purpose of moving amendments to the propositions that would be put forward in

the meeting and that would gain Tilak's object by rendering the original resolutions nugatory. While sitting in this house Tilak was being urged to go out and persuade the intractable crowd to be quiet. Perhaps the request made to Tilak may have been genuine; perhaps it may have been a trap to catch him. It was not unimaginable that, if the crowd listened to his words and dispersed and went back peaceably, the fact would have been construed as a proof that Tilak himself was responsible for the hurly-burly and fracas. Tilak and his friends, however, were too seasoned mice to gullibly fling themselves into the trap. Yet his enemies did connect Tilak's name with the riot; but the accusation had absolutely no support and it passed off Tilak as water passes over a duck's back.

A few of Tilak's own followers did not like his participation in the meeting as it was pronouncedly a meeting to accord consent to the bill. We can only say in this respect that both he and his followers who disagreed with him in the matter of attending the meeting, were right from their own points of view. To leave the meeting to stew in its own juice in absolute contempt or to otherwise make its holding and continuance impossible was one way of accomplishing one's object. To make endeavours to defeat the very end of the meeting by securing ingress into it, going straight off to the helm

and taking firm hold of it to guide the voyage of the meeting in the direction one chooses, was another, as effective as the former, if not more diplomatic. Tilak had decided to adopt the latter course and was in the meeting in pursuance of it. The acquittal of the five accused who were prosecuted for disobeying police-orders closed this matter so far as Poona was concerned. One or two public meetings were held in Poona after this, in one of which Tilak spoke, suggesting that the Queen's Proclamation being itself the subject of dispute, Her Majesty should be entreated to give her own interpretation of it. Again, at the Provincial Conference held in Poona in the month of May, Tilak moved a resolution of regret at the Government's indifference to public opinion with regard to the 'Age of Consent bill.'

Thus, while agitation against the bill was going on, the bill was passed in the Legislative Council. All the propaganda proved unavailing. In due course the agitation stopped without even submission of the application of protest to the Parliament. Why Tilak did not lodge the protest with the Parliament is not known. It may be, it was felt to be hopeless to get the act reversed. Though, however, Tilak's efforts did not yield visible material fruit, experience showed his line of reasoning against the bill to be substantially correct. Soon after the close of

the agitation against the bill, instances occurred in which those who had violently supported the bill acted in contravention of their own principles of social reform. And in the case of Tilak himself who had been an unyielding opponent of the bill, he set an example to the hypocritical reformers in respect of late marriages of daughters by marrying his, after they had completed the fifteenth year. Whatever his critics may say, there are a number of facts in his domestic life which must lead every unprejudiced observer to conclude that he led the opposition to the bill, not certainly because he was a social obscurantist or irresponsive to any humanitarian considerations, but solely because the method sought to be introduced by the reformers for effecting reforms was fraught with dangerous consequences to Hindu religion and Hindu culture. He wanted social reform to evolve itself from within. The reformers wanted to foist it on the public. He believed that social reform might wait but political emancipation could not brook any delay. The reformers placed social reform above political reform and desiderated the former with a view to paving the way for the latter. The struggle between the two parties was fundamentally between two points of view, two different mentalities, two angles from which persons looked at the question of

emancipation of the country. Experiences of our own people and examples of other countries situated as India is, might be justifiably taken to have vindicated the policy which Tilak, in his great sagacity, himself followed and chalked out for his followers. To take only one instance, the republic of Angora has shown to the world that, once a country is free from foreign thraldom, it can do away with all social anachronisms and all objectionable practices in no time. Political liberty has been admitted with few or no exceptions to be the solvent of all social diseases and anomalies, an elixir that cures a nation of its maladies and invigorates it with such thoroughness as to make it feel its life in every limb. All through his life, Tilak was convinced of the efficacy of this political tenet of his and he victoriously fought for it till his death.

CHAPTER XIII

TILAK AND SOCIAL REFORM

THE ten years between 1882 and 1892 form a period of great social conflicts between Tilak on the one hand and social reformers on the other. A close scrutiny of the part played by Tilak in these controversies yields the following five principles which Tilak followed in the matter of social reform. They may be summarized as follows:—

(1) Under foreign domination political reform must be given precedence over social reform.

(2) More than others, the educated people must first take up the political work.

(3) For the sake of convenience, two separate sets of workers must devote themselves to the two kinds of work.

(4) Leaders of social reform must be men of spotless character, and must boldly push the work forward by personal example and by actual practice.

(5) The line of least resistance and yet of slow but sure results was the spread of knowledge among people, and the policy of appraising the strength of the chain by means of the strength of its weakest link.

To superficial students, of the controversy of the nineties of the last century, Tilak

may appear to be an embodiment of orthodoxy. And in a sense it is also true. For Tilak yielded to none in taking due pride in orthodox religion and Hindu customs. Had the *Kesari* not advocated, with such unremitting vigour, the side of the orthodox, the social fire-brands of the day would have got from the Government any kinds of laws in furtherance of what they flippantly regarded as social advancement, by deluding it with an imposture of public opinion. But Tilak cruelly tore off the mask and exhibited, in sharp and clear outline, what the real public opinion was in that respect. However, paradoxical though it may seem, from another side he was being attacked in his time as a social reformer too. But in this delicate position itself lay the chief and enduring merits of Tilak's social policy and programme. It is said, that when both the sides to an arbitration consider the award as imperfect or unjust, it is supremely right and well-balanced. Tilak was attacked from one flank by the extreme social reformers and from the other by the extreme sticks-in-the-mud. He was opposed by the former group, because he stood between the social reformers and laws of the Government for carrying out social reforms. He was fired at by the latter group, because he pleaded with the people first to plough their untutored minds to receive the seeds of social reforms. This reasoned attitude of Tilak

was practically invulnerable for his opponents. For example, when social reformers took aim against him, he would hold forward the shield of his views which could not be misinterpreted even by the most enthusiastic reformer to be anti-reform. When, again, the hardened conservatives drew their bow against him, he would equally skilfully turn round and shoot back the arrow, flying through them.

Tilak's position with respect to social reform may be thus illustrated. He admitted that child-marriage was deeply dangerous to society. At the same time, he believed that the requisitioning of law to abolish it was equally harmful. The evil practice ought to be gradually stopped by means of popular education. Take the matter of adoption. It was his opinion that the principle of adoption was time-honoured. But violation of that principle was not irreligious. He further pleaded that, instead of adopting any Tom, Dick or Harry, the intending person had better consecrate his property for the use of the country. He wrote strongly against some of the demonstrative objectionable customs followed in marriage ceremony. But he stuck unflinchingly to certain other rites which had their basis laid in authoritative religious documents. He condemned re-marriages of widows; but at the same time the condemnation was poised by an equally bold condemnation of re-marriages of men.

It was better, he thought, for one to remain a bachelor and devote one's life to the cause of the emancipation of the mother-country. What was more wonderful was that he recommended that, even women could not be precluded from continuing single and offering their lives at the country's altar. Tilak did certainly ridicule over-education of girls and its frivolous effects on their behaviour. But nevertheless he never tired of insisting on the essential need of training girls in a suitable manner.

This, in brief, was Tilak's policy. It represented the golden mean between two extremes. For the time being, Tilak stood to be the target for people on both sides. But his policy passed through the two-fold ordeal in a successful manner. His social reform was as difficult to be fought with and overpowered by the more orthodox section of the public, as his conservatism was by the more impatient social reformers. Both kinds of his opponents chafed under their inability to lay him low. He, however, stood four-square to all the winds that blew. If we may be permitted to use, in a sense other than that intended by the poet, Tennyson's epigram that, "A lie which is part of truth is a harder matter to fight," we can say that it was proved true by Tilak in relation to his policy regarding social reform.

For two years he attended the sittings of the social conferences. The session held at Nagpur under the presidency of Hon. Mr. Khaparde may be taken to be the second and the last at which Tilak was present. His main purpose in entering the conference appears to have been to unclothe the social conference of its stolen national vesture and to show it up in its true colour. In fact, he published his purpose in the *Kesari*. What he seems to have appprehended is the misuse of its supposed national character as a cloak to deceive the powers-that-be into considering it as the real exponent of the whole nation. Like Louis XIV of France who paraded himself as the state itself, Justice Ranade contained in himself and bossed the whole show of the social conference. Tilak went into the subjects-committee and put certain questions to him, pertaining to the representative nature of the gathering. Ranade prevaricated. But he could not help confessing that the subjects-committee was not a properly constituted body. Seeing that they were brought to bay, the social reformers grew angry with Tilak and very nearly threatened expulsion. To this bitter extreme the animosity between Tilak and the social reformers had gone. The episode in the 'Punch Howd Mission' occurred at a very critical moment in this very period of equinoxial social storms.

We shall briefly relate the history of this

affair which has acquired a kind of notoriety in Maharashtra as the 'Punch Howd Mission Tea Party'. The idea of this party was conceived by the brain of one Joshi who was a social reformer and almost a man of Falstaffian tendencies. His behaviour was almost like that of a buffoon and was conspicuous for the extreme contrasts which it often exhibited. Religion was to him a play-thing and he would condemn without compunction Hinduism as heartily as he would condemn Christianity to which he was converted. This whimsical man thought of playing a trick with those persons whom he regarded as the educated hypocrites. He carried it out with great deliberation and success. Towards that end, he got Reverend Rivington and a sister of the Church to invite some gentlemen in Poona to a lecture in the school attached to the 'Punch Howd Mission' in the Vetal Peth. Among the invitees, no distinguished person in the city was left out. There was hardly any considerable person in the city who did not attend the function. The real underlying purpose was dexterously kept secret and on the basis of that, the whole show was stage-managed. None suspected that anything untoward would happen, as persons so widely differing in views as Ranade and Tilak were called. Most of the invitees, therefore, went into the parlour furnished by the said Joshi, as

a matter of course. The lecture itself in the mission was a tame and colourless affair. The deficiency in the lecture was, however, sought to be made up by serving tea and biscuits on the tables. It was plain, that the appearance of tea and biscuits on the tables was not quite an unpremeditated courtesy. It may also be, that the exhibition of this courtesy was inspired with pure motives. Without, however, going into the teleology of this trap, the persons that had gathered in the Mission School were taken aback when the things came to be served. It may be easily granted that, not every one of this surprised group had any desire to taste of the drink. But none of them had the courage of conviction to ask these objectionable things not to be placed before them or at least to be taken away, after they had been so placed. While talk was going on in the assemblage of the people, some of them quaffed their cups, some honoured them with only a sip, some others only formally touched them and shoved them aside, a few hated even the sight of them. But neither those who emptied the cups nor those who detested them, had the least inkling that there was really brewing a tempest in the tea-pot which was to keep itself spinning violently for some months to come. Joshi himself was, of course, wickedly delightful at the success with which his mischievous plot was executed.

The first thing which Joshi did after the function in the Mission School was over, was to publish the names of the persons who had accepted the invitation to attend it. It may be that Tilak would not have cared to go to the function, if he had suspected any mischief or foul play. As it was, he complied with the request of the missionary hosts, with the strange result that Ranade and he became bed-fellows in vanquishing their orthodox opponents. The publication of the names was designed as a challenge to the orthodox people to rise up against these social rebels. It seems to be a peculiar irony of Tilak's life, that his very friends had to range themselves against him and in certain cases to lead the opposition to him also. In this case, Sardar Natu was the leader of his opponents. Public opinion in Poona was whipped up into condemning the supposed rebels and excommunication was the busy topic of the day. The public was bitterly divided into two camps and the social strife reached such a crisis that the dispute was referred to Sri Shankaracharya for final disposal. In offering his defence of his action, Tilak's profound knowledge of Hindu law and religious scriptures was of the greatest use in silencing his opponents with unchallenged authorities and in driving a coach and six through their arguments. He discussed with great skill and con-

vincing logic that for such social delinquencies, atonement was provided for by religious authorities. Tilak was, of course, ready to bear and undergo any kind of penance as an expiation for his religious lapse, if prescribed by Sri Shankaracharya who was the highest authority on Hinduism. Even while abiding by the decision of Sri Shankaracharya, he expounded his central principle of social reform, viz., of taking the society along with him in the forward march. He pleaded for the principle of compromise, give and take, accommodation, agreement or conformity, so ably and clearly discussed by Morley in one of his best literary productions, in the solution of social questions as in others.

It is possible, he thought, that one may not be able to have all one's desires and attempts for social reforms fulfilled all at once in one sweep. But what progress would be made as a resultant of the individual and collective social forces acting in different directions was held by him to be real solid progress. He who wanted all his whims or crotchets or fads of social reform to be successful immediately was advised by Tilak, in a satirical way, to go away to the desert of Sahara and live there in accordance with his views on social reform. The award of Sri Shankaracharya given by his deputies was not accepted by all alike from among the defendants. But

what was more surprising was that even some of the plaintiffs did not approve of it and thus the matter, instead of being finally closed, continued as an open sore in the public life of Poona. Seeing that one attempt at reconcilement between the two sections was unsuccessful, a second was also undertaken. This, too, proved equally fruitless. The papal delegates, as Sri Shankaracharya's deputies may be described, delivered divergent judgments which cancelled each other. As, however, the pangs of social boycott were experienced by the offenders, one after another they scrapped the whole question by subjecting themselves to the punishment of penance under one pretext or another. On certain occasions, Tilak too felt the inconveniences, if not agonies, of such boycott and he cut the Gordian knot by doing the penance when he had gone to Benares. Justice Ranade also was forced by domestic circumstances to eat the humble-pie and consent to what was in his case particularly a grievous humiliation. This treachery of his to his party invited upon his head the utmost wrath of his friends and followers. Tilak, however, defended Ranade from his critics, as he also supported him in his lecture in the Hira Bag on this very subject.

In this matter of excommunication, Tilak brought into blazing light one of his characteristic traits. He proved that he was a

fighter of no mean parts. Tilak fought for every little point involved in this social controversy. There is no doubt that he underwent the procedure of penance laid down by Hindu scriptures. But if anybody took it into his head to taunt him with it, he was ready to prove that the merest sipping of tea which was only a mixture of milk, water and tea-leaves, called for no such purification. There was no sin in taking tea from anybody. If anyone challenged him to undergo the penance, he would, the Goliath of social schismatics that he was, hit back with the ceremony he had already performed. The solid principle underlying all this conduct of Tilak was to take a leap forward in social reform without forsaking the people far behind and at the same time without bringing the religion of the forefathers into contempt or even into slight disrespect. It was the compass of this principle that aided him in tiding over all the social storms of those days, when social winds had a habit, as it were, of rising high and the social sea of being tempestuous at the slightest change in the atmosphere.

One little journalistic skirmish between Tilak and Agarkar in this connection may fittingly close this chapter. In an issue of his paper of the month of November, 1892, Agarkar made certain false allegations against his friend about having taken food at the hands

of Mohammedan or Portuguese mess-men. It was, of course, an unmitigated lie. Tilak at once denied it and demanded its withdrawal. Agarkar, however, did not think of immediately retracting his words, and not till prosecution was threatened and Justice Ranade himself interceded, did he think fit to express regret and take back his mischievous charge against Tilak. In his bubbling humour Agarkar wrote an article publishing the untruthfulness of the accusation he himself had made against Tilak. But in this article, Agarkar wrote that, though Tilak had denied the charge of having eaten out of the hands of a Mohammedan mess-man, he was not against taking tea from Christian hands. He further contended that the difference between the two acts was simply six of the one and half a dozen of the other. Tilak gave a very crushing reply to this fallacy. He asserted that though chemically coal and diamond consisted of the same properties, no business-man ever fancied the distinction between them to have been completely annihilated. It was a wrong conclusion to draw that, because a man drank a cow's milk and used the other yields of a cow, he should not scruple to devour the cow itself. Tilak was a past-master in the art of driving out the nail of one witticism by another, equally pointed and sharp.

CHAPTER XIV

SHARADA SADAN CONTROVERSY

THIS controversy forms only a short episode in the whole story of Tilak's public life. It did not go much beyond the realm of newspapers, as other larger and more momentous controversies in his career spread. An English life of Pandita Ramabai has been published by a Christian mission. There is no doubt that she was in a way an astonishing personality possessed of extraordinary capacities. Suffice it to say, that from the point of view of Hindu society, the end of her public life was as regrettable as her childhood was wonderful. The strange vicissitudes of her infancy, the most careful training which she had had the privilege of receiving from her father Anant Shastri, the peculiar circumstances in which her character was moulded in the pliable stage of her life —all this combination marked her out to be a great and ambitious force in society. In the year 1878 news reached Bombay that a lady by name Ramabai had come to the fore in Calcutta and that she had eclipsed even pandits of eminence in point of Sanskrit lore. For some years after 1878 Ramabai passed her life in Bengal and in Assam, but

perhaps being overwhelmed with a number of misfortunes there, Ramabai decided to leave Bengal to come down to Bombay and Poona. In 1882 she arrived in Poona. It is not known with sufficient certainty whether she was invited to Poona or whether she fixed upon Poona on account of its brilliant historicity. Whatever the reason may have been, her presence in Poona was an object of awful wonder already created by her renown which had preceded her to Poona. Her youth, her spirit, her learning, her widow-hood impressed Poona public immeasurably. Social reformers headed by Justice Ranade felt to have found in her quite a powerful and living influence in favour of female education. The orthodox section became not a little suspicious about her appearance and work in Poona. Anyhow Ramabai held Puranas and delivered lectures in Poona; and both classes of people, her admirers and condemners, attended her discourses in large numbers. Her eloquence and erudition produced the desired effect upon the populace of Poona and often did it happen that those who came to scoff remained to pray. She was bold in utterance and ready in wit. None could dare to oppose her face to face or to condemn her in the open. But it must be admitted that her previous life, her activities in Poona and the imaginative picture of her probable future doings provided an unending

prolific subject for the contagious gossips and busybodies of Poona society.

In 1882 Ramabai started the Arya Mahila Samaj in Poona. The object of this institution was the general one of the all-sided development of the female sex. Many eminent leaders of society in Bombay and Poona came to be included in the list of patrons of this quite a new institution as it then was. After coming to Poona Ramabai scraped acquaintance with Miss Hereford, Superintendent of the Girl's High School. Ramabai also came into contact at this time with many other Christian missionaries in Poona. With the help of these people she went to England and at last was converted to Christianity. From England she went to America. It goes without saying that, even in these foreign lands, this gifted lady elicited admiration from the more advanced people over there. The American Missionary Organisation promised to help her work generously. They agreed to bear all the expenses of her work for a period of ten years. Between her and them it was settled that she should conduct an institution for education of women, that it should impart only the common education, that there should be no religious instruction as such, and if at all there was to be some kind of religious instruction, it must be of Christianity. With these concessions secured from her American donors she

founded in Bombay the Sharada Sadan on the 11th of March, 1889. Widows of the high class were to be given preference in the admission to this institution. The syllabus of studies comprised besides ordinary education, moral instruction, practical knowledge, industrial education, domestic science etc. Many of the prominent social reformers of Bombay such as Justice Ranade, Dr. Bhandarkar, G. H. Deshmukh, S. P. Pandit, K. T. Telang were among the consultees of the institution.

All eyes were anxiously turned to see how the Sharada Sadan went on. The anxiety of the people was sharpened by suspicions that were naturally current in society on account of the promoter herself being a convert to Christianity. The *Kesari* belonged to this apprehensive and suspicious class. In the issue of the *Christian Weekly* of 21st December, 1889 a bit of news appeared telling the world that out of the seven child-widows in the Sadan, two had expressed their inclination towards Christianity and even attended Christian prayers with Ramabai and one was receiving instruction from a missionary teacher of her own accord. The news also declared that the institution might be regarded as belonging to Christianity. Such a declaration in the press was not likely to go unnoticed. The institution began to figure prominently in

newspaper-criticism and the *Kesari* warned the people to inquire into the allegation before sending their girls to it. Ramabai herself gave a spirited reply to the charge of the Sadan being a veiled Christian institution. In this reply she says, "It would not have been necessary for the institution to be Christianized if our own countrymen would have liberally patronized it. Great attempts had been made and are being made to see that it should be saved from Christianity. It was because Hindus refused to extend any help that I had to run up to Christian missionaries. If the Hindus are ready to work the institution, Christians will not only not come in their way but would continue to render all possible help to them. All people know that it is far easier to find fault with others than to do the thing themselves."

In a way this reply and the challenge from Pandita Ramabai made her critics speechless for the time being. The only rejoinder to her was of course the concrete collection of funds for the institution and assumption of authority over it on the strength of that subscription. In a February issue of the *Kesari* it had to confess that its motive in criticising the institution was not to destroy it but to help its prosperity by lopping off the diseased limbs. In the succeeding two or three months, however, public opinion

grew more and more inflamed against the institution on account of certain incidents directly connected with its administration and certain others with no bearing on it but symptomatic of advance of Christianity in Poona. In a June number of the *Kesari*, the attitude of the *Kesari* which then had passed fully into Tilak's hands, became emphatically more pronounced and more offensive. It wrote that, though it had not been possible for the Hindus to collect subscriptions to the amount to which Ramabai had succeeded, truth must some time be revealed to the whole world and the sooner the better. People were confirmed in their opinion that the aim of the Sadan was not so much of female education as the spread of Christianity. Men like Justice Ranade took a superior view of the whole situation and thought there was nothing wrong for the Hindus in taking advantage of the beneficent activities promoted and carried on even by a Christian lady. The *Kesari* seems to have gone wild with rage with this line of argument. It condemned them, possessed of titles, power and pelf as they were, as traitors to their own society, enemies to Hinduism and betrayers of female education!

Evidence accumulated thereafter to prove that the institution was really denominational in working and in outlook; and whatever explanation to the contrary Rama-

bai and her Hindu supporters published, instead of disproving people's allegations, more and more deepened them. The *Kesari* published certain exhibits in its columns which proved to be the last straw to break the back of the institution and its protagonists. At last Dr. Bhandarkar, Justice Ranade and others forswore all connection with Pandita Ramabai's Sharada Sadan. The letter of resignation may be read with a subdued joy at Tilak's triumph: "We have strong reasons to believe, that many of the girls are induced to attend her (Rambai's) private prayers regularly and read the Bible, and that Christian doctrines are taught to them. Pandita Ramabai has also shown her active missionary tendencies by asking the parents and guardians of girls to allow them to attend her prayers and in one case at least become Christians themselves; and we are assured that two of the girls have declared to their elders that they have accepted Christ. Such a departure from the original understanding cannot fail, in our opinion, to shake the stability of the institution and alienate public sympathy from this work. We are sorry, our individual remonstrances with the Panditabai have proved of no avail. If the Sadan is to be conducted as an avowed proselytizing institution, we must disavow all connection with it."

Beyond this there is little to be noted

about the Sharada Sadan controversy. The secret proselytizing attempts were brought into light and the screen of female education put over them was blown away. Social reformers like Justice Ranade were forced to declare that their ideas of religious toleration and their zeal for female education could not be allowed to run so fast as to embrace Christianity or permit its fertile propaganda with complete indifference. It was proved that even in the house of humanitarianism there could be many mansions, set apart all to themselves, for different religions. It was no inconsiderable gain derived from this comparatively minor controversy.

After a lapse of certain years the Sharada Sadan became openly Christian. Its head-quarters were removed from Poona to an adjoining village; and naturally when it went out of sight it went out of mind the public. During the famine agitation of 1897 Pandita Ramabai did much public service through her institution; and though she was a Christian, she behaved towards the Government officials in the plague-agitation with a fearlessness before which not only the fair sex but some even the "unfair" sex must hide their diminished heads in shame. There was no love lost between Tilak and Pandita Ramabai in spite of her qualities which could bring honour to any person possessing them. For the whole of his life, Tilak looked upon her as a

traitor to society. It may be stated that, whenever he had occasion, Tilak spoke in respectful terms of Dr. Anandibai Joshi and Mrs. Kashibai Kanitkar. There is reason to conjecture that if Pandita Ramabai's energies had dug out other channels than they found in the propagation of Christianity, Tilak would not have been so hard and harsh upon her. There, indeed, is no greater lie than that he was opposed to female education. He had the highest regard for every educated lady who sought to lead society gradually towards reform ; and whenever he came across a lady even with a faintly nationalistic outlook, he never failed to hold her up for public commendation. But he had no patience with a woman who trampled under foot all time-honoured traditions and threw to the winds serious principles of social reform. As there is love at first sight, so probably there to be the opposite feeling. It may be, Tilak felt a kind of disgust for Pandita Ramabai at their very first meeting, which her subsequent career confirmed more and more. It is indeed a sad irony that Pandita Ramabai should not have received her proper meed inspite of her many admirable qualities. But in renouncing Hinduism and accepting Christianity, though for the fulfilment of a benevolent ambition, she committed a grave and unpardonable sin against Hindu society. She stood guilty before the

bar of Hindu public opinion, and she paid the penalty for her offence against her society and her mother's religion.

CHAPTER XV

HINDU-MOSLEM RIOTS

ON the face of it, a chapter under the head-line above given in a biography of Tilak looks not a little awkward and is very likely to engender in the readers' mind a miasma of misconception. It may be stated, at the very outset, that in the Hindu-Moslem riots that disfigured the public life of Poona and Bombay in 1893 and 1894 and that even now beat upon the public memory with some bitterness, Tilak had no kind of part or lot. If he was at all connected with those distressful happenings, it was an indirect and far remote connection. Nevertheless, in the matter of those communal riots he took a very independent and even nationalist attitude and did not spare the Government when blame was to be apportioned to them.

The origin of that wave of Hindu-Moslem riots has to be traced back to certain events in Prabhaspattan, a not considerable state in Kathiawar. The echo of the small riot in that place was heard with a deep and expanding sound in Bombay where public meetings were held, both of Hindus and Mohammedans, to enlist popular sympathy and support for the sufferers belonging to the respective communities. But these meetings

might be said to be only a passive cause of the following riots. The active cause of course worked in a more insidious and subterraneous manner. By nature Mohammedans are a hot-tempered race. When the passionate minds of Moslems are worked up to a sufficient pitch of fury by deliberately deputed agents, the outbreak of disturbance becomes as easy as lying. In brief, riots broke out in Bombay in 1893. For three or four days ugly scenes continued even in high streets. On the 15th of August peace was restored. The Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, Mr. Ackworth, called a joint meeting of prominent Hindu and Moslem citizens and a demonstration of unity was paraded through the streets. After the riots, controversy began in the press as to the real causes and remedies of such disgraceful happenings. Various suggestions were made to prevent these disturbances. And there was a lot of bandying of proposals and counter-proposals from one community to the other. A remarkable feature of all these numerous wise recommendations was that none of them went to the root of the problem. When, however, some papers and persons were engaged in conveniently beating about the bush and some others contented themselves with goody-goody preventive measures that left the Government absolutely untouched, Tilak and his *Kesari* undauntedly did the work of

pointing out the real, though perhaps the unseen, cause of the Hindu-Moslem riots.

The *Kesari* emphatically declared that the Mohammedans were uncontrollable and that the cause of their intractability was the softness of the Government's policy towards them. Hindus were supposed to be protected from the onslaughts of the Mohammedans by the presence of Britishers in India. Such declarations, the *Kesari* pointed out, egged on and emboldened Mohammedans to assault the Hindus. It was further emphasized that Lord Harris, the then Governor of Bombay, instead of proffering his advice to Mohammedans only wasted his breath in addressing his words of wisdom to the members of the Bombay Legislative Council among whom not a single Mohammedan was to be counted. Really speaking, the seat of riots was among the uneducated classes. If disturbance of peace was to be prevented in a sincere manner, these classes must be brought under the strict rule of law. It was wrong to make fish of one community and flesh of another when both required to be most impartially ruled over. If such unsuspectedly even-handed administration was thought to be impossible, the *Kesari* wrote without mincing matters, the Government must be held incompetent. In brief, the *Kesari* constantly laid stress on the fact that there were three parties in this controversy, viz, the Hindus, the Mohammedans

and, last but not least, the Government. The *Kesari* insisted that, as Lord Harris had harped upon harmony and peace, so he should have enjoined strict impartiality on his officers in their behaviour towards the public.

It may not be out of place to say here that even Moderate opinion was similar to Tilak's. As a specimen of it we quote a few observations from the *Dnyanprakash* of the 28th of August, 1893. "Some of the Government officials may think it to be an agreeable pastime to put one race against another and to make political capital out of the whole affair. But how dangerous this procedure is can now very well be realized when we have experienced this year a frightful succession of disturbances. From the time of the great Salem riots in Madras upto the present moment, the outcry of undue encouragement of one class against another and dealing leniently with the one and harshly with the other has been often raised; and had our Government taken note of this ere long we would have undoubtedly been spared much trouble and recriminations." In spite of such emphatic assertions in the press these Moderate journals and their inspirers hesitated to follow up in practice what they preached when it came to the pinch and when the time came for public proclamation and defence of such bold views. Surprisingly enough,

these very papers and persons became unscrupulous enough to attribute orthodoxy and hatred of Mohammedans to Tilak when he launched out on his campaign of agitation.

The critics of Tilak found support to their charge against him in the fact that the *Kesari* upheld the strike of the Hindus undertaken successfully to put an end to their harassment by Mahommedans. Similarly, about this very time while writing about the cases issuing out of the Hindu-Moslem riots in Bombay, Tilak boldly enunciated the principle that all the accused, though found guilty under one and the same charge, could not, with justice, be sentenced to one unvarying term of imprisonment or to a fine of the same amount. The punishment, he said, ought to be in proportion to the initiative and the motive of the offenders. In the Bombay riots Mohammedans started the trouble and the Hindus only stood up in defence. In his advocacy, as these facts go to show, Tilak used to speak in clear and bold words. His constant point of criticism against men like Ranade was that they fought shy of uttering the innermost sentiments of their hearts. It was in this spirit that Tilak appreciated the frank speech made by a Maulavi in the Hira Bag. It seems to have been his conviction that no understanding of any permanent character between the two communities was possible unless both sides had had their most

candid say in the matter. Mere sweet words could not butter parsnips, as the saying goes.

The boldness and candour of Tilak's utterances in this behalf became so pronounced in connection with the imposition of punitive police on Bombay citizens that he pleaded for the levying of the extra tax from the treasury of the mosque itself which was the source and the stronghold of Moslem rioters. The attitude of the Poona people in general was firm on the point of the maintenance of the time-honoured customs and rights of the Hindus, in spite of all the wishy-washy special pleading for the Mohammedans made by the Anglo-Indians and other persons who could not but reserve a soft corner for the Mohammedans. The Police Commissioner and some other officers in Bombay were busy condemning the movement of cow-protection as being the cause of the riots. But the undaunted people of Poona forwarded resolutions of public meetings about cow-protection itself and prohibition of cow-slaughter to the Agricultural Commission that was holding its sessions at that time in Simla. It has also to be noticed here that Tilak did a more constructive effort for consolidating the Hindu community. It was by means of the Ganesh festival which since that time became a public festival and which attracted to itself people's energies and activities to a greater extent than anything else had done.

The diagnosis which Tilak had made of the Hindu-Moslem question was proved to be true by the happenings at Yeola in the district of Nasik soon after this. The climax of the Government's partiality to Mohammedans was reached at Yeola, as also the high-water mark of Mohammedan intransigeance. Thrice did the Hindus agree to yield but the Mohammedans budged not an inch. And yet the Government officers, not excluding the Governor himself, and the Anglo-Indians and the social reformers had the audacity to preach ideas of compromise and the virtues of peace to the Hindus alone. Even the *Times* did not choose to attenuate the fault of the responsible Government officers. Citizens of Yeola despatched a succession of telegrams of protest to the Collector of Nasik. But the most comic, if it were not so serious, aspect of the whole affair was that the wise Collector returned the protests on the funny ground of absence of the necessary stamp on the telegrams. Tilak had the luck to see with his own eyes such an absurdly sapient remark and with his trenchant pen he challenged the machine-made officer to publish his magical method of despatching such a stamp through the telegraphic wires, so that the great original inventor might be given a place only next to Edison, the father of the phonograph!

In the matter of the Yeola riots, the Government published a resolution in which

the case of the Mohammedans was justified and the conduct of the officers upheld. Tilak visited Yeola and personally investigated the causes of the riot. The criticism against Lord Harris through the columns of the *Kesari* from the pen of Tilak became so stringent on account of Tilak's personal knowledge of the actual state of affairs that the rumour of prosecution against him was rampant for days. It however proved to be the proverbial lying jade. But the falsification of the rumour was not the only proof of the truthfulness of Tilak's view. The acquittal of the responsible officers of the local municipality and other notable citizens and pleaders who were committed to the sessions for trial, lent an unsought and therefore more convincing strength to the opinions of Tilak. In one of the cases the Sessions Judge of Nasik made the remark that on the evidence put in by the police on behalf of the Government, even a dog could not be hanged.

From Yeola the attention of the people was drawn to Poona. In connection with certain religious processions Poona had the occasion to experience the headstrong and supercilious fanaticism of the Mohammedans. The Hindus openly dissuaded their brethren from participating in any way in the Tabut festival. And the effect of this preaching was seen at the time of the Tabut procession. The *Kesari* steadily continued to din into the

public ear the advice not to purchase peace with Mohammedans with dishonour to their own religion or with loss of self-respect. Tilak wanted to acquaint the Mohammedans with the determined stand of the Hindus, as he had by his ceaseless propaganda given the Government to understand. From time to time he laid down his belief for the guidance of the people that, there could not be co-operation and harmony between two parties unless either was convinced of the necessity of the other for its very life and existence.

However, Poona could not escape the touch of the contagion of the Hindu-Moslem riots. The social reformers were as vociferous in their attacks on the Ganesh festival as they were dumb on the haughtiness and irreconcilable attitude of the Mohammedans. Tilak, on the contrary, had been convinced in his own mind that any softness on the part of the Hindus would deprive them of their most simple rights. There was, in his opinion, a limit to the demands of the minority on the majority and also a limit to the surrender of the majority to the sentiments of the minority. He did not conceal his view that, even if the necessary consequences would threaten to be somewhat serious, the legitimate rights of the Hindus must be protected. Tilak had been strongly and tirelessly canalizing these principles by means of the *Kesari* to the very bosoms of the people.

That the attitude of the Government was oftener more favourable to the Mohammedans was admitted by the social reformers themselves in their correspondence with the Government in relation to the subject. Boiled down, the point of difference was that of resistance and here Tilak parted company with them. The very temperament of Tilak on the one hand and that of the social reformers on the other differed fundamentally. The result was, the opponents of Tilak began to find fault with the Ganesh festival, only because they could not muster courage enough to blame the principle which Tilak advocated.

Tilak was, of course, more than a match for his adversaries. When a private meeting was held for putting the management of the Ganesh festival on a permanent basis, a heated controversy took place. The columns of unsympathetic newspapers fired a broadside upon Tilak. A circular protesting against the policy of Tilak with over fifty signatures was issued. Tilak, absolutely undaunted and unperturbed by this campaign of calumny, laid low one and all of his critics by his writings and his actions. The triumphant observance of the festival by the public in accordance with the teaching of Tilak supplied a crushing reply to its opponents. For the first eight days all the ceremonies and functions passed off in tranquillity. There were, however, faint murmurs

of the storm. On the eve of the last day of the festival the pent-up feelings of the Mohammedans broke out into a scuffle near the Daruwala bridge when the Mela of young boys belonging to Sardar Natu was going past a mosque adjoining the bridge. It was Wednesday *i.e.*, not a day of prayer of Mohammedans. Besides, this Mela was not the first to go by along with music. We are not here concerned with the details of the disturbance, yet we must mention here the fact that only a short time before this disturbance of peace, Tilak had taken his round with Namjoshi and Baba Maharaj, two of his colleagues, along the scene of action. Had the fracas occurred just at the moment of this visit, the responsibility of it would undoubtedly have been fastened upon him and his unsoftened and frank writings. But, as on a previous occasion, the presence of mind of Namjoshi stood him in good stead. Tilak's carriage was driven fast and taken to a place, none knew where.

As a consequence of the riot and as a routine sequel to it, more than a dozen people were arrested. But finally all the accused were discharged by Judge Jacob who earned the gratitude of the Poona public by his stern impartiality and for whom Tilak reserved a soft corner in his heart. In the course of the trial, evidence came to light in cross-examination that revealed the real nature

of the promiscuous arrests by the police. The moral effect of the complete acquittal was that Tilak was emboldened to challenge His Excellency the Governor to apologize to the Brahmins of Poona who had been wantonly traduced and suspected by the Government. Surely, His Excellency had not the generosity and sportsmanship to take up the challenge thrown down by Tilak. But nevertheless Tilak's challenge had its restraining effect on the future policy of the Government. In other respects also Tilak's expectations seemed to have been justified by succeeding events. He thought that, though for the time being the struggle of the Hindus for the maintenance of the rights might put up the backs of the Mohammedans, after the subsidence of the first effervescence of their easily irascible temper, they would come to regard things in a proper way. In Poona itself since 1894 no blood has been shed between the Hindus and the Moslems.

In the Ganesh festival of 1895 at Dhulia, the Government realised that the initiative of disturbance lay with the Mohammedans. The Collector of the District himself was led to the conclusion which Tilak had been reiterating for the last two years. In the issue of the 10th of September, 1895, Tilak might be taken to have written his last article on the subject of Hindu-Moslem relations. Naturally, it sums up his general attitude to that question.

Thereafter other events occurred; and the outbreak of plague and the repressive policy of Rand introduced a new chapter in the public life. In this closing article Tilak wrote thus:—
"The position taken by the Mohammedans does not stand to reason. To say that the Hindus should stop all kinds of music at all times of the day is an erroneous demand and no reasonable man can give his consent to it. The right of stopping music before mosques has its origin in local customs to some extent. It is not possible that the local Hindus and the Moslems should not know the existence or otherwise of such customs. We, therefore, urge upon our brothers the Moslems to give up their too sweeping demand of stopping even soft music. If Mohammedans cannot bear the music at the time of prayer, how do they practise worship in trains, in ships and in shops! Not only so, but their religious books prescribe that a Mohammedan should do his prayer wherever he may happen to be. It follows that it is wrong to say that music causes disturbance to the prayer or that music before mosques is blasphemous. These improper ideas must have been crammed into their heads by some selfish persons. It will be easy to settle the question of music before the mosques if the Mohammedan attitude is toned down in this spirit. It is no use being puffed up by the partiality of the Government. When the time comes the

Hindus and the Moslems alike will equally be a prey to them."

Really speaking, on the points of the Government's partiality towards the Mohammedans and the primary responsibility of the riots on them, Tilak and his opponents were at one. The only difference was that in defending the rights of the Hindus Tilak was afraid neither of the Government's wrath nor of the Mohammedans' indignation against him; his opponents roared against injustice to the Hindus but the roaring was as gentle as that of the sucking dove or of the nightingale. Even the *Dnyanprakash*, the local organ of the Liberals, condemned in its own way the resolution of the Government on the Bombay riots. The same paper criticised in no uncertain terms the Anglo-Indian papers and the Government Officers who deliberately connived at the fact that the Mohammedans always raised the first stick in the riots and the Hindus retaliated only in self-defence. In spite of this fundamental unity of opinion, however, it has to be said that Tilak carried on a far more intensive agitation in favour of and did an enormously greater service to the Hindu cause than all his opponents put together. Tilak incurred the hatred of the Mohammedans; Tilak induced upon his head the displeasure of the Government. But he exposed the true mind of the Mohammedans

and encouraged the Hindus to consolidate their ranks. Even his opponents could not deny that he prepared public opinion in a most triumphant manner by putting the Hindu-Moslem question in the true focus. The social reformers rarely lost an opportunity to find fault with Tilak's policy as being unbalanced and indiscriminate. But the absence of even a single solitary Mohammedan to consider the question in the serene and cold light of reason when men like Ranade and Gokhale were ever ready to adopt a policy of mutual harmony and impartiality, constituted a sufficient answer to the charge against Tilak of an unyielding attitude. Tilak knew that the Mohammedan maw was unfillable and implacable. Under those circumstances, Tilak felt that it would be a wise course for the Hindus to state their position and stand to it through thick and thin, be the outcome what it might. This policy appears, to all superficial observers, to be a policy of unsophisticated partizanship. But the present state of the Hindu-Moslem question, when no amount of surrender has yet satisfied the Mohammedans and brought them round to regard India in the spirit of national partriotism, might well be taken to adjudge that policy of thirty years ago to be duly cautious and quite in keeping with the social and the religious self-respect of the Hindus.

Tilak himself never picked any quarrel

with the Mohammedans. He was always ready for mutual adjustment and compromise. Both in his speeches and writings he was inclined more towards refuting charges levelled against the Hindus rather than towards accusing the Mohammedans in any respect. The feeling of respect which he cherished for the Hindus and Hinduism was exceedingly sharp and delicate; and any rude touch to that sense always used to put him on his mettle. It was not his habit to brook sheepishly the slightest attack on what was the most venerable in his mind. He would storm at the enemy whoever he might be and overthrow him completely almost with a tiger-like valour. The timorous and the pusillanimous could not approve of this course of action. But beyond sending an application or two to the Government or ladling out peaceful advice from their lordly dishes from a safe distance, these pontifical critics of Tilak did not move a finger for the solution of the question that kept the public mind spinning in anxious agitation for long months. No wonder, therefore, that people came to have the utmost regard for Tilak and made of him a popular hero.

A brief reference should be made here to one important fact. In the question of music before mosques there was something more at the back of the Government policy than met the eye. The po-

pular belief in the preferential behaviour of the Government towards Mohammedans was indeed justified. But it was the outcome not of a deeper respect for the mosque than for the temple but of a well-planned manœuvre to use the Mohammedans as a counter-blast to the Hindus in matters political. The relations between the British and the Mohammedans since 1856 to about 1885 were not at all cordial. In fact, there were causes like the Afghan War which had enraged the British against the Mohammedans. Since, however, the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, things took a different turn. The Congress was dominated by the educated Hindus. And when they began to criticise the administration and to put political ideals before the Indian public, the Government naturally scented in it an imminent danger of great potency. The Government found ready to hand the Mohammedan community for manipulation against the Hindus. Through Sir Sayyad Ahmed they got the Mahommedans to boycott the Congress. And when the fear of the Hindus alone being able to take advantage of the new rising principle of election to Legislative Councils after 1892, was sedulously spread, the mass of uneducated Mohammedans took the cue. Pan-Islamism began to be zealously preached. And in those days the help of the British was necessary for its spread and growth. The policy that explod-

ed in the partition of Bengal was thus being steadily and studiously pursued since 1892-93. The Government and the Mohammedans co-operated in hampering the progress of the Congress. The quarrels with regard to music and processions were only the off-shoots of the main poisonous tree which was vitiating the soil of India. With his unerring vision Tilak saw through the whole game and chalked out the lines of his policy accordingly.

Those who lightly indicted Tilak for diffusing communal hatred should have known better. Nationalism and internationalism are feelings somewhat opposed to each other. That is to say, the more natural course would be to step from the former on to the latter than the reverse. In Tilak's view it was safer to offer our hand of fellowship to others, when our own feet were first firmly planted. If on the contrary, we were to do so from a shaky and tumble-down foundation, we would be in danger of losing our own ground and of being bodily absorbed by others. The social reformers saw things in a different light. People did not then realize the far-reaching significance of this far-sighted policy of Tilak. The Shivaji festival and the Ganesh festival followed the riots and made Tilak's position much misunderstood. To the Mohammedans Tilak appeared in the garb of a veritable Satan. The controversy about the murder of Afzal Khan supplied an additional

handle to the Mohammedans. But it was singularly fortunate that the Mohammedan misapprehension of Tilak's policy did not outlive Tilak ; for long before his death the Ali Brothers themselves, probably recognizing that they were wrong and Tilak was right, acknowledged Tilak as their political *Guru*, though Tilak did not shed or dilute any of his convictions. It is not a little interesting and instructive to note how the principles which Tilak laid down for the solution of the Hindu-Moslem problem in India are receiving the approbation from all sensible persons in the present state of public affairs in the country, which is not far dissimilar to that obtaining in 1894. No better or more convincing evidence of a man's statesmanship can be found than that furnished in this way by the judgment of history itself.

CHAPTER XVI

BAPAT COMMISSION

THE life of a great man is sometimes so kaleidoscopic in its character that to an ordinary observer it becomes extremely difficult to visualize all its various colours. More important than this fact is the peculiarity of some of these constituent colours that they are not all equally visible. Some are deep and never fail to rivet public attention for a length of time. Others are faint and do not occupy a prominent place in the gaze of the spectators. There are a few tints which are neither so deep nor even faint but may be described to be nearly invisible to the common eye and not likely to be rendered visible by any kind of search-light. Nevertheless, they lend their particular extraordinary charm to the whole picture and often silently glorify the same with their entrancing iridescence. What is known as the Bapat Commission has some such importance in the biography of Tilak. Strictly speaking, it had not any remarkable bearings on the public life of Tilak. But it brings out one quality of Tilak—as some other matters and events of this nature also do—the quality, we mean, of self-sacrificing and sincere service to a friend in straits.

In the famous Tai Maharaj case which kept Tilak busy off and on during the last twenty years of his life and which also involved him into many damning situations and actually drew his energy away from other more momentous and patriotic tasks, this grand virtue of Tilak was of course evident. There may be, and there are, other lesser events in his life that showed it to advantage. Indeed, these little unseen and not much known aspects of the public life of a great man are like the small silvery springs that flow through the forest invisibly and finally throw themselves into the mighty river. The Bapat Commission didnot receive much publicity through newspapers and what little part of that episode came before the public view did not contain Tilak's name. This case kept Tilak pre-occupied for about twelve months; and though perhaps he may not be given the honour of being described as the hero in the Bapat Commission, he is indubitably entitled to be called its secondary hero. It is, therefore, proper for us to find out and assess the value of the part played by Tilak in the cause of one of his friends under a cloud.

V. S. Bapat and Tilak first came into contact with each other when both of them were at college. Bapat was not in the same class as Tilak. But these two with Daji Abaji Khare had cultivated such a magnanimous friendship with one another

that they together formed a trinity, as it were. The feeling of affection once born in the mind of each never grew less but ever more, as they advanced in life. On account of domestic circumstances, Bapat had to take leave of his college before passing the examination and he took service in Baroda state in the Revenue Survey Settlement office. He was found to be an able servant and by his amiable qualities he climbed up the official ladder in a short time and became the assistant Commissioner. Tilak looked forward with great pride to the fact that Bapat would continue the traditions of sincere service to the state, created by former Deccani State officers. On the other hand, Bapat himself had a very high regard for Tilak's sacrifice and learning. There were other more solid marks of friendship shown by them to each other. Under these circumstances, it was not at all inconceivable how as soon as Bapat was known to be in peril, Tilak should have run to his rescue. Beyond this personal aspect of Tilak's participation in this affair, there was the public aspect. There appeared to be a veiled attempt in this affair at bringing the administration of His Highness Sri Sayajirao Gaikwad into disrepute. Tilak wanted to forestall or defeat these artful intrigues contemplated by the British Residency. Once in the Kolhapur case Tilak had manifested his sense of pride in the

native states. He had to suffer for his pride. This was a second occasion for him to stand up for the dignity of our native states.

Not minding that he had burnt his fingers once, Tilak rushed into the field again and succeeded in achieving both his noble ends. In the Kolhapur case Tilak himself was the accused; here he was not himself the accused but was a proximate friend and protagonist of the accused. Nevertheless, Tilak was so identified with this case that he himself conducted it right from the beginning to the end and proved himself to be both the brain of the pleaders and the Barristers and the mechanical hands of the clerks. While the case was proceeding, the functions of the counsel and the clerk seemed to be rolled up into Tilak. What precipitated matters against Bapat was the work of investigation of the Inams in the Baroda state. Being an officer in the Settlement Department, this work fell to his lot along with Mr. Elliot who was the head of the Department. It naturally tended to entail an amount of discontent with the responsible officers as it involved examination of old charters, their cancellation or restriction, increment of assessment and so on. The Inamdars, therefore, became dissatisfied and their dissatisfaction was helped by jealousy aroused by the sudden promotion of Bapat to higher posts. To

add to it all came the unpopularity of Mr. Elliot with the British Residency.

Thus, the conspiracy was complete. But as long as His Highness the Maharaja, Mr. Elliot and Bapat were together they were formidable and none dared to look askance at the least of them. In the beginning of the year 1894, both the Maharaja and Mr. Elliot went to England and Bapat was found to be alone. It was time, therefore, for his enemies to pay off with compound interest the old scores against him. With the ferocity which usually is generated by defeats sustained previously, they fell down upon him and wanted to make short work of him. It was indeed an animated fight, because the Dewan, the Resident and the Settlement Commissioner, all these tall poppies had arrayed themselves together against Bapat who was seen to be almost in an isolated predicament. Charges of having received bribes were openly made against Bapat and to substantiate those imaginary charges the three officers above mentioned stopped short at nothing to get up witnesses against him. No device was considered by them to be too sordid to induce witnesses to depose against him and in this most unscrupulous way evidence was accumulated against their marked-out quarry.

While such evidence was being cooked up against him, Bapat was working in his

office as usual. Of course, he had got wind of all the secret workings against him, but he had no direct order of any kind. He was sadly conscious that his two protectors, His Highness and Mr. Elliot, were separated from him by miles of sea. He had none else in India to whom he could look with some hope of help. No wonder that he felt not a little confounded in the midst of the completely hostile situation with no chance of any assistance from any quarter. His mind, however, turned to an old friend of his, who at once assured him of every assistance in his power. That friend was no other than Tilak himself. Taking into account the surroundings of Bapat in Baroda, which were charged with malice and ignited by secret mischief, Tilak felt that it was dangerous for Bapat to continue to stay within the precincts of the state. It was arranged by him, therefore, that Mr. V. G. Joshi, a friend common to both, should proceed to Baroda and see to a safe escape of Bapat from the state. It was no easy task. For Bapat was constantly shadowed by secret police. On the 18th of June, 1894 both Bapat and Joshi reached the railway station of Baroda just at the time when the Gujrath Mail was due to depart for Bombay. It was pretended that Bapat had simply accompanied Joshi to say good-bye to him. All the while the police were undoubtedly dogging his foot-

steps. The train whistled off. And as soon as it was in motion, Bapat gave the slip to the watch-dogs and placing his foot on the foot-board leapt into the compartment in which Joshi was sitting. Joshi had already in his pocket two second-class tickets and there was no further trouble about it. The police-men ran hither and thither on the platform in stunned astonishment. But the train steamed out of the station. The journey to Poona was accomplished without a hitch. And Bapat was beyond the reach of the state police.

Disappearance from the state, however, could not stay the approach of the calamity. On the contrary, it deepened suspicions against him. He was suspended from service on the 30th of January, 1894. And at last he was ordered to be tried by a Commission on the 31st of August of the same year. After the appointment of the Commission, it was not prudent for him to remain away from Baroda and hence he went back from Poona of his own will. Barrister Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Branson and other eminent legal luminaries appeared for the plaintiff who had no lack of money to fight out the case. With the defendant the case was altogether the reverse of this. He had no pecuniary resources to pit himself against the Darbar. He could engage no counsels except two High Court pleaders. But more helpful than the pleaders

themselves was Tilak who, along with his friend Mr. Joshi, had opened a whole office for Bapat in Baroda. Even in securing a suitable place for office Tilak had to encounter a number of difficulties, because people were so terribly afraid of Bapat that few had the daring to rent some place for him. The work of the Commission lasted for over four months. In spite of himself, Tilak's two papers and the law-class were neglected. It was true that where-so-ever he was, Tilak had his eye always on his two papers as a hovering bird has on its nest. But his energies were so completely absorbed and his time so occupied that he had nothing left to devote to them. In Baroda his mornings were spent in the deliberation of the afternoon's work. The afternoon was spent in the court. The evenings and the nights were spent in making a memoranda of court-proceedings and dicussions on points arising from them. Thus, even the night was a co-labourer with the day, and he could hardly steal a few hours to write for his two papers.

What mighty work Tilak must have done in Baroda can be easily guessed. With the help of Bapat he scrutinized the account-books of certain false witnesses, and they were proved to be deceitful. Nearly the whole defence of Bapat was prepared by Tilak. It ran up to 200 foolscap pages. It was drafted by

Tilak from day to day. That year he did not attend the Congress-session held at Madras, as he could not leave Bapat to himself. Though Tilak returned to Poona, the Bapat Commission did not free him for his own work but dominated his mind to the exclusion of other topics.

At last the Commission recommended that Bapat should be sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment and to a fine of Rs. 10,000. His Highness acquitted him after the most expert legal consultation and simply pre-pensioned him off. We are not here concerned with the justice or otherwise of the report of the Commission and of the final action of His Highness thereupon. Bapat then came down to Poona and passed his days in the company of Tilak. Tilak proved so true to his friendship that after Bapat's death, he helped his only son in every way possible.

One off-shoot of this Bapat Commission is especially to be marked in Tilak's biography. It was his acquaintance, if not familiarity, with His Highness Sri Sayajirao Maharaj. Just as Tilak's endeavours on behalf of his friend in the matter of the Commission were inwardly lined with a desire to save His Highness from discredit, so His Highness too, on his part, might probably not have been absolutely unaware of this noble purpose. It may easily be expected that H. H. The Maharaja's regard for Tilak must have been

heightened by this consciousness. Tilak himself had, however, nothing to gain from this episode. It was, from the very beginning, a purely selfless undertaking and it bore this glowing tint undimmed unto his last and after it. The notion is current that the Gaikawad Wada which was Tilak's residence, was dowered upon him in consideration of the magnanimous services he had rendered to His Highness in this Commission. It is, however, a thoroughly baseless inference. This Wada was purchased by Tilak from His Highness for Rs. 15,000 which sum was fully paid up in the state treasury. It is just possible that His Higness may have taken a thousand or two of rupees less from Tilak than the estimate of price made by engineers. But that the Gaikawad Wada has been presented to Tilak is nothing more than a popular fake. The Bapat Commission undoubtedly opened the heart of each to the other and a feeling of mutual respectful affection grew up between these two high-souled personages which increased from year to year rather than diminished. Not only that, their personal relations of regardful sympathy have woven such a golden chain around Tilak's *Kesari* and *Mahratta* Institute and the Baroda state that it would be painful for both to break its links even to-day.

Tilak's work in the Commission was admired by the Barristers of the opposite

side. Mr. Branson was surprised at the industry of Tilak by means of which he produced before the Commission the exhaustive defence of Bapat from day to day. He is said to have exclaimed once when the work of the Commission was going on, "who is this poet gifted with such sublime poetic fantasy to produce such charming pieces every day"? Mr. Branson had, however, personal experience of Tilak's abilities in his own case, and he must have known without difficulty that the poet was none else than his quondam acquaintance, Tilak. The report of the Crawford Commission was of great use to Tilak in the Bapat case. Both the cases were cases of bribery and as the Commission acquitted Crawford, so Tilak also wanted Bapat to be pronounced not guilty. Tilak, therefore, knew full well that the argument that saved Crawford ought also to protect Bapat. Thus, though Tilak did not meet with complete success in the Crawford case, the experience that he had gained in it greatly helped him in securing the release of his friend from an ignoble charge. In this Tilak succeeded and the deficiency of the Crawford case was made good by his nearly complete triumph in the Bapat Commission.

CHAPTER XVII

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

1890–1895

IT was but natural that after his resignation from the D. E. Society Tilak should find himself to be at sea as to his future career. He felt in a way that the original idea with which he had taken the lead in starting the Fergusson College and the D. E. Society, had been practically cut off in his mind. It was only to be expected that he should think of starting parallel institutions to fulfil his primary purpose in life. But it may be that the quarrels in the D. E. Society must have taught him a lesson that it was against human nature, which varied from man to man, to permit continuous, harmonious team-work among a group of young persons equally enthusiastic and not far differing in abilities. Whenever anyone questioned him as to this point in his after-life, Tilak used to give a two-fold answer. He pointed out the difficulty of co-operation among colleagues and secondly that it was the part of wisdom not to lay the axe at the root of the tree planted by himself by starting separate rival institutions. Of course, if he had chosen to be enviously vindictive against the D. E. Society, he would

certainly have succeeded in starting a college of his own to spite the Fergusson College. It would not have been difficult for him to collect together an efficient body of teachers and professors who would willingly have gathered under his banner.

It was, however, as it should be, that Tilak did not entertain any such idea of duplication of the same kind of institutions. He gave up that direction of his public activities altogether, and cast his net in other waters. The ginning factory at Latur was established and the law-class was begun. In the first concern Tilak did not fully enjoy that kind of independence which he so much desired; but the law-class was entirely a personal affair in the management of which Tilak could be as free as he wanted to be. The two newspapers formed a more self-reliant and publicly more serviceable concern for Tilak. At that time the *Kesari* was a very small paper and it took for Tilak only a day to dash it off. He could devote five full days to other public activities and functions. It was certainly not a paying proposition in those days, but it was essential as an organisation to rouse and to mould public opinion. In his weekly articles Tilak could take stock, as it were, of his public work in the previous week and publish his prospectus of activities in view for the next week. He often used to say that, though

he was apparently occupied only for twenty-four hours with his papers, the raw material of writings was being ginned, cleaned, finished and glazed in the unresting factory of his mind working in double shifts, as it were. He had always some dominant public activity on his hands--sometimes the Crawford case, at other times the Bapat Commission, some times the anti-famine agitation and so on. Temperamentally he hated writing articles. But the thoughts about a certain subject which was in the fore-front of public life, so violently surged up in his mind that their outpouring into the columns of the *Kesari* brought him a much-needed relief, rather than a feeling of *ennui* or exhaustion.

Tilak did not attend the sittings of the Indian National Congress till 1888. It is clear from this that he had carried out the principle of strictly restricting all his energies to the work of the Society and not allowing them to journey beyond the educational sphere. However, after being released from this self-denying ordinance by his resignation, he considered it necessary to participate in the work of the National Congress. On the 17th of March, 1889, a public meeting was held in Poona to discuss the question of the session of the Congress of that year. It was booked to be held in Bombay. Poonaites wanted the venue to be changed to Poona. The public meeting deputed Tilak and Namjoshi

to induce Bombay people to resign that honour in favour of Poona. The enthusiasm of Bombay proved irresistible, and the two deputies had to yield. The wet blanket of this refusal did not damp the energies of the lovers of Congress in Poona. And to prove their sincerity of purpose and selfless pride in the Congress, Tilak, Namjoshi and their many co-workers collected a sum of about ten thousand rupees as their contribution towards the Bombay Congress. Specially for the Congress session, the *Kesari* was temporarily removed to Bombay and was published daily during the Congress session. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh had graced that session by his presence. A resolution came before the Congress about the constitution of Legislative Councils for India. It was a controversial proposition. Tilak moved an amendment to it to the effect that members of the Imperial Legislative Council should be elected by Provincial Legislative Councils in accordance with the method of indirect election. In this amendment Tilak was seconded by G. K. Gokhale. It was of course negatived. What invests it with a peculiar importance and charm is the fact that Tilak and Gokhale were agreed on the point for the first and the last time in their lives. Indeed, we have travelled a long distance from the stage of indirect election. It should nevertheless be noticed that in the period

covered by the two years 1892 and 1909—the two epoch-making dates in the Indian constitutional history—the method advocated by Tilak and Gokhale was actually in operation.

During this quinquennium Tilak took a prominent part in the Provincial Conferences held in Bombay and Poona. He was not present at the first session. The second was held in Poona under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur G. H. Deshmukh. In this Conference Tilak spoke in support of the resolution pertaining to the Crawford case. The resolution gratefully appreciated the conduct of the Government of Bombay in this case and congratulated it on having done its duty by vindicating the purity of public services and removing the cause of a long-standing scandal. The contents of this resolution aroused much difference of opinion, but at last Tilak gained his points. The Anglo-Indian papers were manœuvring to cast aspersions on the Mamlatdars, while mildly condemning Crawford. The duty of the public then was to fight against this mischief by insisting on the Government taking severe measures against Crawford who was obviously more to blame than the Mamlatdars. In his speech Tilak creditably accomplished this work.

The third Bombay Provincial Conference also was held in Poona under the presidentship of the Hon. Kaji Shahbuddin. In this Tilak proposed a resolution condemning the

excise policy of the Government and demanding adoption of the principle of local option. Here, too, Tilak in his speech proved by facts and figures the increase in the consumption of foreign and native liquor and thus contradicted the mis-statement of the Government about diminution in the drink-habit of the people in India. He rejoiced at the promotion of Temperance Associations in the country but at the same time asserted that the very necessity of having such organizations in India was reprehensible, because unknown to such riotous drunkenness, she should have had no reason for the existence of them. He expressed his opinion that Municipalities, Local Boards, Village Panchayats or local electorates should be empowered to start or close liquor-shops at any place they chose. Even after an agitation for over thirty years, the right of local option remains yet unrecognized. This conference appointed Tilak as one of its secretaries and during the successive years also he used to be elected to the post; and he worked with Sir D.E. Wacha and Sir C. H. Setalwad in this capacity.

The next Conference also again found its lot cast in Poona. The only resolution worthy of special notice in this Conference was on the Age of Consent bill, piloted through it by Tilak. It recorded a protest against the action of the Government of India in refusing to consider public opinion on the bill in question.

Discussion arose in this session on the proper meaning to be attached to the words "Public opinion." Tilak interpreted the expression as the opinion of the majority. But he pleaded that if public opinion was said to be represented by the opinion of the educated people only, then it was opposed to the bill. That the first proposition of Tilak was unchallangeable need not be stated. To the second, however, many people rightly demurred. Whatever it be, the Conference had confidence in Tilak and he was re-nominated one of its secretaries.

It appears that the conferences of those days had a peculiar weakness for Poona. For, the fifth Conference also could not leave its accustomed venue. Familiarity in this case had not bred contempt; on the contrary, it had evoked a kind of fondness. This fifth Conference was presided over by the Hon. Pherozeshah Mehta. It was the grandest of all Conferences. The subject of the greatest significance in this Conference was the constitution and form of the new legislative councils. The resolution on this question was moved by Tilak and it was suggested that the Municipalities and such other institutions should be the electorates for the new legislatures. The sixth Conference thereafter took a long journey from Poona to Ahmedabad. In this, Tilak put forth the grievances of the people in certain parts of Maharashtra about

increased land-assessment, by means of a resolution. This Conference also appointed a committee under the presidentship of the Hon. Pherozeshah Mehta to draft a constructive scheme embodying separation of the judicial and the executive functions. Tilak was sent up to this committee along with a few other members. The Conference of the year 1894 was held in Bombay. But Tilak could not attend it. Next year, that is to say, the year 1895, the eleventh session of the Indian National Congress was held in Poona, and Tilak was appointed as one of its secretaries. However, owing to a conspiracy of circumstances, he had to divorce himself from the secretaryship. The history of this episode is so important and complex that it may conveniently be narrated in a chapter of its own. In the year that followed, Tilak got himself elected to the Bombay Legislative Council and also received the honour of being nominated Fellow of the University of Bombay. His active connection with the Provincial Conference ceased after 1896. Of course, whenever possible, he made a point of attending sessions of Provincial Conferences held in after years, when his leadership had transgressed the limits of Bombay Presidency and had invaded outside territories.

One of the minor miscellaneous activities in which Tilak was called upon to play some part, was about military education. As

a memorial to the Duke of Connaught who had served in the military department for a long term of years and who was retiring, it was decided to start a school of military education and a deputation was elected to wait upon him, requesting his permission to name the proposed school after him. Tilak was elected as one of the secretaries of the deputation. It interviewed the Duke of Connaught who readily complied with its request. But this memorial did not materialize and the project remained a dead letter. Between the years 1891 and 1893 Tilak completed and published in book-form his epoch-making essay on the Orion or the discussion of the date of the Vedas. In 1891 he delivered two lectures on this subject. But it would be more convenient to assign a special chapter to his two literary productions on historical research. And hence we dismiss them here with only the barest mention. In 1894 Tilak prepared a memorandum to be submitted to the Parliament dealing with the subject of simultaneous Civil Service Examinations in India and in England. A resolution favouring them was adopted by the Parliament in the previous year. But the bureaucracy in India did not carry it into execution. In the memorandum, Tilak criticised this small-minded reactionary attitude of the bureaucracy.

The year 1895 found Tilak in the Poona

Municipality and the Bombay Legislative Council. Before his actual election to the Municipality he certainly used to take keen interest in Municipal work. His friend Namjoshi was in the Municipality before him. In all Namjoshi's local activities Tilak was his unofficial help-mate. In the year 1895, however, he stood for the general ward and got elected without any very great endeavour. He was also elected to the managing committee, but refused to receive the honour of being its chairman, leaving it to be conferred on another more senior member. Tilak's career as a city father was exceedingly short, running only to a year and a half. But it was exceptionally sweet. In spite of his views on general politics of the country, he pulled on well with the other members who were in government employ or who differed widely from him in political persuasion. As he had on important occasions interested himself in Municipal work even before he was actually in that body, so he did concern himself with it even after he had ceased to be a member. In the year 1901-1902 he devoted his attention to the drainage scheme prepared for Poona by Mr. Pottinger and wrote one or two articles on the question. At the time of the triennial election, he earnestly endeavoured to increase the strength of the nationalist party in the Municipality.

For himself, he never desired to get into

it. But he believed that as the Municipality was a field for the exercise of some local authority by a common man, so it was a school for the training in administration of public business in a regulated manner and in conformity with the views of the majority. The members of the Municipality often consulted him. The ardour of Tilak's ambition to have a strong nationalist party in the Municipality became remarkably evident when in 1901–1902 he drudged at the polling station for hours together for the election of his friend, Sirdar Natu. In 1902 he made attempts to see that an elected president should preside over the Municipality. The attempts did not succeed then. In 1908 again a keen competition took place between Tilak's candidate for the Municipality, viz., Prof. S. M. Paranjpe, and his Moderate rival, the late H. N. Apte. On this occasion also, Tilak worked hard at the polling booth. The last Municipal question in which he took a leading part was that of compulsory primary education which was hotly debated in 1920. The Municipal Nationalist party had prepared a scheme of compulsory primary education for boys only, in the first instance, by way of experiment which was to be extended to girls also after making the necessary financial provision. The Moderate party and the Seva-Sadan group decided to believe that the scheme was against female education.

To speak the truth, this convenient and diplomatic disbelief of Tilak's opponents was designed to queer the pitch for Tilak's party in view of the then impending election to the Bombay Legislative Council. Public opinion was in a mighty commotion. A public meeting held in the local Kirloskar theatre was one of the most excited among the most excited gatherings of Poona. The speech delivered by Tilak in the meeting was his last utterance on Municipal matters.

The Municipality itself owed a deep debt of gratitude to him. And it was paid off in 1919 when he returned from England. On the very day of his return, the Municipality publicly presented to him an address of welcome. It was the first of such presentation ceremonies in honour of a non-official and that too of the type of Tilak. The details of this unique occasion had better wait for their proper time and place in this biography. Here we simply anticipate a few years in his life to give the finishing touch to and wind off the description of Tilak's municipal achievements.

CHAPTER XVIII

TILAK AS A COUNCILLOR

TILAK'S connection with the Bombay Legislative Council was a little more in duration than that with the Poona City Municipality. It was, however, comparatively an insignificant span in the whole length of his public life. The spell lasted over two years and a quarter only. But from one point of view, it has considerable importance in his public work. By the act of 1891-92 the principle of election of popular representatives to the Legislative Councils of the country was first introduced in the Indian Constitution. Before this change, the Government used to nominate a few members from among the people; but in the nature of things most of such members were no better than Tadpoles and Tapers, Fizkins and Slunkies of the Government. We advisedly say 'most'. For there were a few honourable exceptions to this rule. And the exceptions were Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Telang, Mehta, Badruddin Tayyabji and others of that kind. By the new Act, 8 seats on the Bombay Legislative Council were thrown open for election. The rules and regulations made under this Act rendered this provision somewhat nugatory, in so far as the distribution

of these 8 seats amounted to gerrymandering. The Central Division of the Bombay Presidency, which included Poona, the second capital, had to go without any kind of representation. This injustice was keenly felt by Maharashtra and an agitation was carried on for its rectification. In 1895 when the term of the elected Councillors was over, new rules were promulgated according to which the six districts of the Central Division obtained a seat apart for themselves to be filled by the District Local Boards. As a matter of fact, Municipalities in the C. D. ought to have been formed into an electoral college for filling up this seat. But perhaps the Government was afraid that the extremists of Poona would dominate and manipulate the Municipalities and send up to the Bombay Legislative Council an undesirably hot representative.

These extremists, however, at whom the Government took so much fright, outmanœuvred them and ultimately succeeded in sending a man who must have been considered by the Government to be a *bete noire*. For the seat allotted to the District Local Board of the C. D. there were 3 candidates, viz., Tilak, Jathar and Garud. Mr. Jathar, being a Government servant of a high position, was very influential. He was put up as a candidate by the Moderate party. Naturally, Justice Ranade and G. K. Gokhale

canvassed personally and by letters for him. Mr. Garud also was not less powerful, being well-connected and being personally a popular pleader of a notably liberal mind. Under these circumstances, Tilak had to fight against great odds. He had nothing to recommend him except his popularity and his nationalist sentiments. But though these points in his favour were certainly not caviare to the general, to the particular electors in the constituency they carried little or no appeal. The District Local Boards themselves were so constituted and cooped up into the Government preserves as not to allow even a slight breeze of robust popular feeling into them. As on other occasions in his life, here also desperate difficulties did not deter Tilak from doing the battle. And with his usual dash and energy he fell to the election-work.

This contest brought in its train the usual consequences which generally accompany such keen fights. Clear party-alignment became visible. And even a little malicious campaigning was not absolutely absent. In respect of talents for public work, learning and knowledge of politics Tilak stood thoroughly above objection. His opponents, therefore, resorted to a mean propaganda against him, proclaiming that as a journalist himself, he was disqualified for being elected to the Legislative Council. Evidently, this

cleverly invented objection against him could not hold water. The inhibition sought to be placed against Tilak came home to roost. For, among his opponents themselves who hit upon this objection there were persons like Mr. Wacha who was the editor of the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, and Gokhale who edited the quarterly of the Sarvajanik Sabha. When all such attempts to blackball Tilak were foiled and when his success at the poll was seen to have been insured, it was suggested that the Governor should, in his right, refuse to give his approval to Tilak's election. The suggestion was taken up by the Anglo-Indian journals with great glee. Nor was action on this suggestion wholly unimaginable in those panicky days. It might be recalled to memory that one of the editors of the *Bombay Gazette* could not contain his wrath against A. O. Hume who taught politics to Indians, without declaring in the Parliament that he should be shot to death! Disapproval of an election of a certain Councillor was indeed far less fiery a proposal and could be adopted without any great danger. From whom this insidious suggestion came it is difficult to surmise with any degree of exactness. But that it was made in all seriousness was beyond doubt. At the time, however, the mischief was believed to have been done by the Moderate party. That party has also been charged with similar other acts in connection with Tilak's arrest

and release in 1908 and 1914 respectively. The Governor, however, did not stoop to this method of forbidding the banns in the nick of time.

Tilak came out successful with 35 votes to his credit, while Garud knocked up 26 and Jathar scored only a pair. The echoes of the election-controversy survived for days after the actual declaration of the result. But the stubborn and successful fight for Tilak's election itself silenced all such talk and established Tilak more firmly than ever in the hearts of the people. So far Tilak's industry and other qualities of leadership were confined to local conditions only. The Municipal election was a flea-bite to him in respect of both efforts and abilities. Only in the previous year he was elected Fellow of the University of Bombay. But that election too was more or less a postal affair. The Legislative Council opened up for him quite a different field. Except public sympathy in his favour, there was hardly a feature propitious to him. And yet he won the election with his own untiring efforts and the unremitting assistance of his loyal co-workers. It would be invidious to mention the names of only two workers of Tilak. But the help rendered to Tilak by Messrs. V. G. Joshi of the Chitra Shala Press and Mr. D. V. Vidwans, Tilak's most faithful and ever serviceable relative, was of such utmost

value as would justify the selection of these two names for special record. After all, an election is a drab affair, a medley of open canvassing and secret manœuvring, of tricks and stratagems. These two assistants of Tilak, of course, brought into requisition many such election-tactics; and they are enough to amuse one whole night of the attentive listeners.

On the 12th of June, 1895, Tilak received a letter from Mr. H. W. Hayward, Secretary of the Legislative Council, informing him of the approval of his election. The first sitting of the Council was held in the month of August and of course Tilak attended it. Compared with the working of the present Councils, the sittings of their predecessors were much shorter and the scope of work also less wide. In this session Tilak was responsible for six interpellations. The Budget of the Bombay Government was placed before the Council for discussion. Tilak took part in it. His main contention was that the Government of India must be bound to carry out the financial arrangements made between it and the Provincial Governments. He also advocated the policy of first claiming from the Central Government a well-defined share of revenues to be spent according to the needs of individual Provincial Governments. He pointed out that since 1870 when the new quinquennial financial

arrangement was put into operation, the receipts of the Bombay Government had gone up to five and a half crores of rupees. This increased revenue was derived from taxes which told heavily upon the people. It was natural that this extra income should be disbursed in works of public utility. But, Tilak emphasized, it was devoured by the Provincial Government in their luxuries and what little remained from their omnivorous jaws was taken away by the Government of India. In the course of this speech, Tilak also offered strong criticism against the Forest and the Excise Departments. Collecting statistics of a quarter of a century past Tilak showed that in the Forest Department the receipts had increased by 24 lacs of rupees, while the disbursements had risen by 21 lacs; so that really speaking, there was a net addition of only 3 lacs to the Government treasury, though people had been forced to pay 24 lacs more. About the Excise Department he observed that, every year the number of liquor-shops must be reduced even if the reduction entailed diminution of revenue.

Tilak's first experience of Council-work was not far otherwise than what his successors in the legislatures derive even to-day. In certain places we come across in his writings and speeches the word 'farce' applied to Council-work. Certainly, he had

no abounding respect for and miraculous faith in Council-work. But it was his conviction that the capture of Councils and work through their instrumentality ought to be regarded as an item of work in any programme of public service, along with other items. That he twice entered the Legislative Council and did what he could do through it, constitutes an irrefutable answer to persons who choose to pervert Tilak's political principles to suit their new-fangled views. He falsified the supposition current in the recent history of the Indian political movement, that a leader of the people is incapacitated for work among them as soon as he is elected to any Legislative Council. In 1896 which was a year of a severe famine in Maharashtra, the questions of anti-famine measures and of suspension and remission of land revenue became extremely acute. At this time Tilak was in the Legislative Council. But in spite of this fact, Tilak carried on a raging and tearing propaganda on behalf of the stricken agriculturists and proved by personal example that, not only was a Councillor not disqualified for public work, but he could accomplish that better and more effectively from the vantage-ground which he occupied as a member of the Legislative Council. In 1895-96 he wrote an essay on Provincial Finance. This essay was published in the quarterly journal of the

Sarvajanik Sabha, and was so ably prepared that it appeared to be uniform in its studied nature and marshalling capacity with the four previous articles that had been published in the same journal and that had flowed from the masterful pen of Justice Ranade. It was his ambition, after the capture of the Sarvajanik Sabha by his party, that under its control neither the Sabha nor the journal should suffer in prestige by having been deprived of the guidance of a powerful personality like that of Ranade. By his article Tilak gave an unambiguous indication that he was in no way inferior to the mighty personage whom he had supplanted. But let that apart.

At the time of his second election, Tilak had not to endeavour as hard as in the first. This time also papers like the *Times of India* hinted to the Government to refuse to sanction his election. But the attempts failed, and on the very morrow of the murder of Rand near the Ganesh Khind, Tilak received the letter of approval from the Council Secretary. It may be that if a longer interval had passed between Tilak's election and the letter of approval, the Government perhaps would have disapproved of his election. The vote of Fate, however, was being cast in quite an unexpected way. For, Tilak himself resigned the seat on being prosecuted in 1897. After his release from jail in 1899, Tilak again wanted to get elected. But

for one reason or another Tilak did not take any resolve to stand or not to stand, and when at last he decided on the first alternative, his friends and supporters themselves thought his candidature too late in the day. His rival G. K. Gokhale, coming out from his self-imposed brooding seclusion on account of the apology which he had tendered to the Government on his return from England, was already in the field. The contest between Tilak and Gokhale would undoubtedly have been a sight for Gods to see. It was, however, not to be. Therefore, one of the most inspiring chapters in the history of the greatest duels remains unfortunately unwritten.

The direct relationship between Tilak and the Legislative Councils was closed here. After this he was never connected with the Councils so closely. After his return from England in 1920 he took the lead in forming the Congress Democratic Party with a view to setting up candidates for capturing the legislatures as reformed by the Montagu-Chelmsford Act. The manifesto of the party was issued in his name. Members of his party urged upon him the necessity of his going to the central legislature. But he refused, satisfying himself and his party that he was as good as elected when persons pledged to his party were in the Councils and the Legislative Assembly.

Tilak's work in the Council ought to be judged by the standard applicable to those days when legislatures offered a far less capacious field for work than now. From this point of view, his achievements rank as high as those of the best of them. Tilak fully exploited the liberty given to a Councillor to criticise provincial administration and finance. Criticism of the Government's policy padded with rows of figures was fashionable then, and had acquired special importance by the statistical tradition left by Dadabhoy Naoroji, Yadnik, Wacha and others. In Tilak's tenure of Councillorship, controversial bills or measures were not proposed and also the tether of discussion around such proposals was narrow. Though, however, Tilak's work in the Council stands comparison with the credit-side of any other member's ledger book, it is eclipsed by his own splendid achievements in the vast field stretching on all sides outside of the Council-hall. It was his conviction nevertheless that the political harvest of national agitation was to be gathered in the Councils. It was true that personally he was not content simply with the comparatively less arduous duty of plucking the fruits and filling the baskets; he wanted to plough the fields and sow the seeds himself, so that the fruitage might be sweeter, more plentiful and more glorious.

Tilak's death in 1920 brought him into some

posthumous relation with the Bombay Legislative Council for the last time. Soon after his demise in Bombay in 1920, the session of the Bombay Legislative Council began in Poona. Mr. D. V. Belvi gave notice of a resolution of condolence in this session. But Sir George Lloyd, the then Governor of Bombay, refused his sanction to it, as the notice was not received within the prescribed time-limit. On the face of it, this excuse was more legal than reasonable. It would certainly have looked graceful, if the Governor had thought fit to soften the rigour of rules in deference to the deceased who could not die after giving a due notice and whose public career could certainly deserve such public condolence in any free country. Evidently, the streams of praise of Tilak's services and virtues were too much for an autocrat like Sir George Lloyd to tolerate being poured in the Council-hall. Afterwards, however, the Governor tried to put himself right with Tilak's friends by observing that, as he himself had permitted the cremation of Tilak's dead body on the Choupati sands, which was quite an unprecedented event, he could not be held to be a wholesale contemner of Tilak.

CHAPTER XIX

NEW NATIONAL FESTIVALS

I. GANESH FESTIVAL

NATIONAL consciousness manifests itself in various ways. It may take the form of the development of the mother-tongue or the national language, the research of history, the hero-worship of historic personages, the songs inspiring patriotic feelings, and so on. Sometimes these are the causes as well as the consequences of national consciousness. Maharashtra has an historic tradition stretching back to centuries of years. This historic tradition attained the pinnacle of glory in the time of Shivaji and towards the close of the rule of the Peshwas, it was developed to its utmost extent. The first half-century of British rule over India very nearly blighted and blasted this tradition. The Mahrattas were lost to their renowned bravery and the Brahmins buried themselves in the Government service. In a word, Maharashtra wore a wintry aspect and everywhere nothing but mental and national wreck was visible.

But as Shelley has asked, "If winter comes, can spring be far behind?" It is an experience of nature that in the winter season trees and plants appear to be somewhat stunted in their growth and seared in their

leafy wealth; nevertheless during this period of hibernation as it were, they do continue silently and secretly to imbibe such life-giving nutrition, that as soon as the spring is heralded, the nourishment, so drawn and reserved, begins to unfold itself in the shape of tender sprouts and shining foliage on every branch and twig. It so happened in Maharashtra. In the first flush of the British rule the glory of Maharashtra was laid in the dust. But the spirit of new education that irrigated the soil of Maharashtra lent fresh vigour to its asphyxiated soul which blossomed into new newspapers for public awakening, new institutions both educational and political and such other means of the expression of the awakened national consciousness. The two festivals in honour of God Ganpati and the historic hero Sri Shivaji, though somewhat late in appearance, must be reckoned as two not inconsiderable proofs of this growing sentiment of nationalism. The original idea of these two national festivities is attributed to Tilak by all those writers and thinkers who do not look on them with any degree of favour or appreciation. Legally speaking, it is an admission that Tilak was the founder of them. Of course, the admirers of these two festivals are satisfied that such an admission saves them the trouble of establishing the paternity of these

splendid national festivals which to-day are celebrated with ever-increasing grandeur and in a crescendo of enthusiasm.

Sir Valentive Chirol in his famous book on "Indian Unrest" has given an analysis of these two festivals. It is his contention that by means of these two festivals, one in worship of God and another in honour of a name full of great historic appeal, Tilak secured a necessary platform from which he could carry on, with tremendous advantage, his campaign of political awakening. By the first, he gave a religious point to his political agitation and by the second, he fleshed the sword of politics thus tempered on people's natural pride in their own history. Though the Anglo-Indian writers father these two festivals on Tilak by way of obloquy to him, the accusation must be one of pride rather than of shame or repentance. To have started these two festivals pregnant with the potentialities of rousing people from their political lethargy and stirring their minds with national pride, is certainly not the good man's sin which sad angels might weep to record and blush to give in. Indeed, these twin festivals have been two great national blessings and Time has vindicated their potency in the most convincing manner.

People used to celebrate the Ganesh festival with great splendour and eclat even before the time of Tilak. Perhaps the old

celebrations were conspicuous with greater splendour than those of Tilak's days. And it was but natural. For, formerly these festivals were liberally patronized by Chiefs, Princes, Sardars and such other prominent members of the gentry. It was indeed impossible for a knot of people living in a particular locality in the ordinary way, to supply all the pompous paraphernalia which a Prince, for example, may exhibit in the Ganesh festival under his patronage. The ingenuity of Tilak resided not in originating the festival, but in giving it a collective aspect and utilizing it as a most efficacious means of creating national enthusiasm among the people. Another notable fact about this festival was that the public aspect was given to it, soon after the first Hindu-Moslem riots in Maharashtra.

The idea first found expression in a private talk between Tilak, Namjoshi and others who had gathered after the Hindu-Moslem riots in 1893 to concert measures against these riots and to express the real Hindu opinion about them. In this meeting it was suggested that the individual celebration of this festival by some of those present, should be expanded to embrace a larger number of people and reach farther afield. The idea was probably a reflection of what was stirring in the minds of all persons present there. It caught on immediately and

with the assistance of a few influential non-Brahmins of the day, the very first year's celebration of the Ganpati festival appeared in the light of a remarkable feature. From year to year the extent and grandeur of the ceremony increased in a geometrical progression. Those who have witnessed in recent years the superb magnificence of the numerous public idols of God Ganpati, the processions, the *melas* and such other pomp and ceremony, will be in a position to realize the mighty effect of the festival on the public mind.

This festival appealed so instinctively to the hearts of the people that it spread rapidly beyond Poona from place to place. Even in the year 1896 we have evidence to prove that it had become a national festival. It captured even native states in which it became impossible for both the native rulers and the British authorities to avoid the contagion. Of course, even while the festival was increasing in volume and depth of enthusiasm, there were croakers who could not remain quiet. Childish objections were raised against this festival. But Time successfully knocked the bottom out of them and left them only as memorials of the mean minds of these maligners. As a matter of fact, there was no weak spot in the armour of the promoters of the festival. It could not be said to be a festival confined

only to Brahmins. The fact that it was a weapon to rouse people from apathy to a sense of nationalism, was rather a point in favour of it than a caveat. Tilak himself admitted that the arrogance of the Moslems gave rise to the idea of the festival which was obviously intended to draw all the Hindus around a central national function. Tilak often justified it by remarking that there was nothing wrong in providing a platform for all the Hindus of all high and low classes to stand together and discharge a joint national duty. The bottles were undoubtedly old, Tilak would say, it was only the new wine that he poured into them.

In the year 1896, Tilak contributed an article to the *Kesari* in which he roundly replied to the opponents of the festival and called upon them to join in that national function. In this article he emphasized the wisdom of the policy of carrying forward, *mutatis mutandis*, those institutions which had been honoured by time and saved from the eternal silence. He pithily remarked that those reformers who would first level down the whole surface of the earth and then uprear ranges of mountains in suitable places and of convenient shapes with streams and rivers running according to their own plan, would always meet with failure. He appealed to the thinking classes to help in the resurrection of such old but dormant festivals

and the exploitation of them for high national purposes.

The articles that Tilak wrote in the *Kesari* in the issues of the 1st of September and the 8th of September are, however, more remarkable. In the first, he established the necessity of such national festivals by referring to similar institutions in Greece and Rome. The great unifying and rousing effect of the Olympian and the Pythian festivals and also of the circus was emphasized with convincing force. Having referred to these and other foreign national festivals, Tilak also brought to the notice of the readers the ancient Indian institutions like the Yajnya or the sacrifice and the gigantic fairs in honour of some deity, which attracted people in huge masses and created in their minds a deep ferment of enthusiasm. In the second article, Tilak laid stress on the duties of the educated people in that respect. He suggested to the intellectual classes to discontinue some of the older objectionable festivals and substitute others more useful. He maintained that it was their duty to change the course of those festivals and give them the complexion of instruments for preparing the mind of the people for some kind of national work. Such festivals, he said, provided ample opportunities for the tutored classes to come into close contact with the untutored, to

enter into their very spirit, to understand their needs and grievances and lastly, to make them co-sharers in the benefits of education and all other new notions of patriotism which education usually carried with it. In his article, Tilak gave a bit of his mind to the social reformers who never lost an opportunity to abuse and misrepresent him. With bitter sarcasm he casually observed in this article that, Ranade mixing with the people in the Ganesh festival and lecturing to them in front of that God of learning or participating freely in the anniversary celebrations of a saint like Ramdas, and expatiating before hundreds of people that gathered there on the national work of that mighty and heroic sage, would be inconceivably more useful to the nation than Ranade sitting in the prayer-hall of the social reformers with his eyes and lips closed in devoted contemplation of their idea of the Almighty !

II. SHIVAJI FESTIVAL

Tilak's ingenuity in harnessing every movement for the service of his cause is also illustrated by the Shivaji festival. With his peculiar vision he discovered the great potentialities of the idea of the Shivaji festival, developed it through the *Kesari* and with the help of outside propaganda gave it almost a lasting shape. The fact that the festival has become an important fixture in the

calender of modern political movements not only in Poona but in the whole of Maharashtra, is a positive proof of the foresight of the original founder. It has also to be noted with pride in this connection that the Shivaji festival is now being celebrated at more and more places outside Maharashtra. The origin of this festival is extremely slender. In the year 1885 the dilapidated condition of Shivaji's grave on Raigarh was for some reason brought to public notice through newspapers. After this the Governor of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple, visited this place along with other officers under him and expressed his grief at the surprising disregard of the historic remains there. Certain other Europeans and Indians, both private gentlemen and officials, were attracted to that site and gave an impetus to the idea of rebuilding and repairing the monuments. Lord Reay also recommended the work of repair and restoration to be undertaken by the Government. Estimates were made of the expenditure on repairs.

But nothing resulted out of that movement and for ten years following, the idea itself remained almost a wild-goose chase. From April, 1895, however, the question was again taken up. In an issue of the *Kesari* of this month, Tilak reprimanded the successors of Shivaji and other Sardars and followers for not moving even their

little finger in re-instating the memorial of Shivaji himself, when even Lord Harris, by no means a friend to India, was singing pæans of praise to the glory and valour of the liberator of Maharastra and protector of Hinduism! With this clarion-call, as it were, Tilak called upon the Princes of states and other people to express their gratitude to Shivaji by organizing meetings to collect public subscriptions. Once the ball was set rolling, money, though in small quantities, began to pour in and the list of acknowledgments published in the *Kesari* appears sometimes to have filled up a disproportionate space. On the 30th of May, a huge public meeting was held in the Hira Bag under the presidenship of the Pant Pratinidhi of Aundh. The meeting was attended by a large number of Mahratta Princes, in addition to hundreds of ordinary people. The Sardars not only attended the function but also delivered speeches. Along with Senapati Dabhade of Talegaon, Tilak was the convener of this meeting. The Chief of Kurundwad moved the first resolution requesting the people to contribute money for the patriotic work. A governing body was also elected by this meeting to further the cause undertaken by the meeting, to which Tilak was elected as a member. Tilak suggested in his speech that a single Maharaja, like that of Kolhapur, might very easily complete the

work at his own expense. But it was the desire of all that every class and every caste of the people should feel to have taken personal interest in the sacred task and to have paid for it its own honest pie. Towards the close of the meeting, it was resolved to send a deputation to wait upon H. H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur with a view to explain to him the whole scheme and enlist his substantial sympathy for the same. But, by a fortunate accident, just about the time of the dispersal of the meeting, the Maharaja's telegram expressing his sympathy dropped into Tilak's hands.

The question to be considered next was the form of the memorial. In an issue of the *Kesari* of July, Tilak discussed various suggestions pertaining to it. It was not possible to accommodate all proposals in one plan. The committee, therefore, decided that a *chatri* (Umbrella) should be erected over Shivaji's grave. The cost was estimated at about Rs. 40,000. The question of a statue was dismissed only with a reference, as its costs would go to a lac of rupees, which sum was thought to be beyond the calculation of the committee. Immediately after its launching, the Shivaji memorial movement attracted wider and wider attention and support even in unexpected quarters. Women fell into the movement with enthusiasm. Orthodox Shastris blessed it

with substantial assistance. Dramatic companies held benefit performances. Even certain Moderates in their lucid intervals bent their hand to this new movement. Thus, about the month of November the total subscription reached Rs. 11,000. As decided previously, a deputation consisting of Chiefs, Sardars and other distinguished gentlemen paid a visit to His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur who promised to undertake the erection of a memorial over Shivaji's grave similar to those over his own illustrious ancestors.

Though it is said with much truth that nothing succeeds like success, oftentimes nothing carries in its womb the seeds of envy as success does. The success which the memorial movement was meeting with, owing to the indefatigable efforts of Tilak, brought upon him the envy and anger of the Anglo-Indian journals and his other opponents. No amount of adverse criticism could deflect Tilak from his path. The movement spread in spite of all the obstacles that vainly tried to impede its march. Even in Bombay, certainly not an easily amenable city, a committee was formed with Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, D. A. Khare and Sir Chimanlal Setalwad for the purpose of organising the movement. Along with the movement of collection of funds also began the revision of the historical estimate of Shivaji. About this

very time Justice Ranade read an essay on the administrative system of the Mahrattas in which he held up for admiration Shivaji's polity and praised his kingly qualities. Professor Bain of the Deccan College also as president at an address by Professor Bhanu on the murder of Afzal Khan, expressed his frank opinion that Shivaji ought to be judged by the standard of morality applicable to a great public benefactor; he had on his shoulders the responsibility of establishing Swaraj for the Mahrattas and whatever he did, with the purpose of accomplishing his end, was done for national good and must, therefore, be voted to be appropriate. Certain other writers like Mr. Karkaria pushed up the movement by their writings. Tilak himself was so resolutely bent upon making the movement successful that, he did not allow it to be eclipsed in his mind by the more absorbing and strenuous quarrels and controversies that ran high in Poona some months before the Congress of 1895. It is really a wonderful stroke of his presence of mind that on the 29th of December, in the midst of the noise and fury of the Congress, Tilak arranged a public meeting on the Reay Market grounds under the presidency of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, the Congress President himself, to propagate his movement of the memorial. The space of the meeting was alive with men and women and

a photograph of Shivaji was hung up on the branch of a tree so as to be visible to the vast audience. We can only conjecture how inspiring must have been the speeches delivered on such an occasion by renowned orators like Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya!

Side by side with this larger movement, as a corollary to it, a little less significant, but none the less important movement was afoot to celebrate on Raigarh itself a festival in honour of the anniversary of Shivaji's birth. Tilak himself carried on much correspondence with the people of Mahad on whom naturally the greatest responsibility devolved as the nearest neighbours of Raigarh. The programme of ceremony was published in the *Kesari, in extenso*, on the 3rd of March, and it was made clear that the memorial fund and the festival fund were quite apart from each other. In the month of March, Tilak wrote 3 or 4 articles on this question alone indicating the several ways in which it could be developed and expanded. The 15th of March was fixed to be the inaugural day of the festival. The arrangements were fully ready and the day of the festival was awaited with the most bubbling enthusiasm. There was, however, a slip between the cup and the lip. It was found that the permission for celebrating the festival was not obtained from the Government. Already, people had begun

to gather and the sudden *contretemps* took away the breath of the organisers. Tilak was not non-plussed by this emergency. Pat he went up to Mahabaleshwar and when he found that the Executive Councillors like Mr. Newgent could not yeild to him, he did not rest on his oars till he took the matter straight off to H. E. the Governor. At this time Tilak was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and naturally, the winds of his membership filled his sails and put a premium on the success of his venture. He explained to Lord Sandhurst the whole programme of the festival and also reminded him of the sympathy of some officers with the work of rebuilding the monument. The Governor could not withhold permission when thus convinced; and having done his task with commendable adroitness Tilak ran off to Raigarh direct from Mahabaleshwar. In spite of the perilous steepness of ascent and other not inconsiderable inconveniences of travel, hundreds of people had collected at Raigarh. The celebration was the first of its kind and for 2 or 3 days the greatest enthusiasm held sway over the minds of the people. There were numerous functions in connection with the festival and all of them were gone through with ardour and joy. Tilak delivered the concluding address. While replying to the charge of sedition brought against

this festival by Tilak's enemies, he cited the examples of the English and the French people who built memorials to Oliver Cromwell and Napolean Bonaparte respectively. Really speaking, there was nothing in this festival or in the several functions held in it, to which either the Government or Tilak's other opponents could object. However, in the case against him the very fact of his being an organiser of the festival of Shivaji was accepted as testifying to his seditious motives. The social reformers, on their part, grew angry with Tilak, because he described Shivaji as an incarnation of God. But Tilak defended himself quite successfully against such attacks of the social reformers, though his defence against the Government did not prove to be more than a flash in the pan.

After this festival, efforts for the collection of the memorial fund slackened. Tilak's idea was to proceed with the work of reconstruction after the total sum of Rs. 50,000 was made up. But the drops that fall only occasionally do not fill up any lake. Tilak also did not move much in the matter, perhaps thinking that the special committee for the purpose would do the needful and perhaps also in the high hopes of securing windfalls to the fund from the Princes and Chiefs. The memorial fund however was never out of his mind, even though in the case against him

almost all the articles objected to were about the Shivaji festival. After his release, huge festivals were again celebrated at Raigarh. This festival journeyed far away to Calcutta. What was more surprising was that the Government of Bombay in the regime of Lord Lamington promised to donate a sum of Rs. 5,000 towards the memorial. The fund that was collected in the time of Tilak and after him, of course, lay in a sleeping condition for over a score of years. Now that the memorial is actually building with the added convenience of the Dharmashala near it, the soul of Tilak must be resting in perfect contentment with this rather over-fulfilment of his wish. The details of this consummation, however, ought properly to belong to the history of a later period than that covered in this volume.

CHAPTER XX

CONGRESS IN POONA

IN the session of the Congress held at Madras in 1894 invitation was given for holding it in Poona in the following year. Twice before had Poona attempted to bring the Congress to itself but twice the attempts failed. But when a third trial was made, it proved successful. It was but natural that Poona should have got the honour. Before 1895, Poona had become famous in the political and social history of India by its opposition to the Age of Consent Bill. When, again, the question of constitution of Councils was under discussion, the people of Poona had established their equality in status and thinking with the people of Bombay by laying before the National Congress their own view-point. There were besides in Poona pre-eminent personalities like Justice Ranade by whose leadership Poona had come to command respect in the counsels of India.

There was nevertheless the other side of the shield. Differences of opinion on public questions of great importance were no longer occult. Party-spirit was gradually flaming up. There were, therefore, secret misgivings as to how the session would pass away without any untoward incidents. These feelings of bitter

partizanship had cause to be increasingly pungent on account of some events that took place in that very year. In the city itself two powerful candidates of Tilak for municipal seats were elected in the face of the candidates set up by Tilak's opponents. Tilak's success in the election to the Bombay Legislative Council also showed unequivocally that the influence of the nationalist party was definitely on the up-grade. In the meanwhile, the movement for preservation of the historic monument of Shivaji at Raigarh added great weight to Tilak's name and brought a large measure of strength to his elbow. Under the very nose of his opponents, Tilak's party was advancing in popular esteem. And the party of his opponents was fading into insignificance. The disputes about the internal management in the Sarvajanik Sabha grew to a white heat, till at last on the 14th of July of the year the party of Tilak succeeded in securing predominance in the body, of course to the chagrin of the waning party. This controversy can rightly be understood to be a prologue to the roaring end that concluded the Congress controversy.

The famous controversy about the National Congress and the Social Conference in Poona began to cast its dark shadows in the month of July of that year. Tilak's opponents raised the cry that as he was engaged in

the work of election to the Bombay Legislative Council and of the Shivaji memorial, he was not devoting full attention to his duties as a secretary of the National Congress. It was true that the work of collecting subscriptions for the Congress was not being done with much enthusiasm. If at all responsility for this slackness of efforts was to be apportioned, a larger share must attach to the Gokhale party as it was called, because though Tilak was one of the secretaries, the more experienced and renowned elders were on the side of Gokhale. The underlying reason, however, for the indifferent success which Congress work was showing was the trifling but nevertheless rampant controversy on the subject of holding or not holding the Social Conference in the pandal of the National Congress. One party in Poona was adamantine in not allowing the Social Conference to use the National Congress pandal. The opposite party firmly demanded the use of the pandal for the Social Conference also. It was certainly not for the first time in Poona that one and the same pandal was to pay a double debt by being the place for holding both the Congress and the Conference. For the last seven or eight years the Conference did meet in the Congress pandal. It was not a little queer that the quarrel over the trivial point at last assumed alarming proportions. But so it was in Poona.

As regards the attitude of Tilak, he was certainly a political brother of those who opposed the enthronement of the Conference in the vacated pandal of the Congress. Nevertheless, he valued the successful holding of the Congress much higher than this trifling dispute. He felt that it would be a standing disgrace to Poona if the Congress session were marred by unseemly scenes and happenings. In the beginning at least he seemed to have resolved to push on the work of the Congress with the co-operation of all persons and parties. Oftentimes in the course of the controversy he emphasized that there was always a *via media* in everything and that there must be one in this fight. For himself, he was prepared to abide by the decision of the Reception Committee which was authorised to settle the question one way or the other. Frequently, Tilak reproved all those mischievous persons who preached withholding subscriptions to the Congress till the quarrel of the Social Conference was satisfactorily settled. In spite of such writings of Tilak his opponents charged him with dereliction of duty and demanded his head on a charger by his resignation of the secretaryship.

These efforts, however, called forth their own antidote. A public meeting was held on the 22nd of October by the supporters of Tilak. Objection was taken to the holding of

such a meeting by Tilak's opponents on the ground that it was not convened under the proper auspices. When Tilak addressed the meeting some stir and confusion was caused by the anti-Tilak group; and not without police aid could peace be restored.

Tilak exposed the secret working of the standing Congress Committee and this exposure put up the backs of his adversaries in the committee. The meeting adopted a few resolutions suggesting the appointment of Tilak himself as secretary of the Reception Committee to be newly constituted and definitely claiming the closure of the business-partnership between the Social Conference and the National Congress. Tilak's participation in the meeting, standing in a kind of polar relationship with the resolution accepted by it, was understood to have completely lifted the veil from over Tilak's attitude towards the National Congress so far taken by him in as straightforward and consistent a manner as a horse with blinkers.

To clear this confounded position, Tilak prepared a pamphlet for circulation, briefly reviewing the past history of the unfortunately developing tragi-comedy. For the fault of taking part in a public meeting that condemned the standing Congress Committee of which Tilak was one of the secretaries, he was asked by the committee to

surrender the secretaryship. Even an attempt was made to kidnap from his house the office of the Congress secretary when he was absent in Bombay. The public meeting had, of course, elected Tilak as a secretary and he was in possession of the papers and other materials germane to the Congress work. Nevertheless outside of Poona the whole world of the Congress organisation of that day was up against him. Tilak was, of course, collecting subscriptions for the Congress in spite of all this disappointing state of affairs. But his work and advocacy on behalf of the Congress could not protect him from the charge of being an accomplice in the designs of Sardar Natu and his followers. A meeting of the standing Congress Committee was held on the 26th of October to solve the difficult and complicated situation. Ferozeshah Mehta and other leaders of the Congress saw that the Poona Congress was in a pickle and Poona people alone would not be able to get out of it without any extraneous assistance. It was decided, therefore, to form a board of seven secretaries—two from Tilak's party, two from Gokhale's party and three from Bombay. Whatever might be the result of the dispute about the pandal, Tilak felt that this arrangement was at least sure to lead the Congress to a successful conclusion. He consented to abide by this decision with this sole noble motive.

This pacific settlement, however, was not destined to work well. When on one side differences seemed to be patched up, a rent appeared on the other. The question of securing support for the Congress from all classes of the people again created trouble. Tilak stuck to his own guns and held fast to the principle that persons of all professions must be brought within the pale of the Congress by getting them to help it. The Moderates, on the contrary, wanted to keep it narrow so as to be fully within their power. Tilak was firm on the point that by all means the Congress session should be held successfully in Poona. The group led by Sardar Natu was indifferent about the Congress and it would have felt no pang of sorrow even if the Congress were broken up. The Moderate party received a new access of strength by the appointment of the three Bombay secretaries. This combination of circumstances left Tilak no alternative to withdrawal from the secretaryship, though public opinion as expressed in the public meeting above referred to was unequivocally in his favour. It appears that Tilak retired from the Congress Committee solely with the high motive that anyway the Congress session in Poona should be held without the least untoward happening. It is true that by his resignation the Moderate party could get the whole credit for holding the Congress in

Poona. Tilak, however, looked at the question not from the parochial point of view of this party or that party being the chief cause of the success of the Congress but principally from the point of view of the reputation of Poona as a whole. Even after resignation he requested the people through his *Kesari* to help the Congress in every way possible.

Tilak's retirement from the Congress office did not smoothen the path of his opponents. The Moderate party found it difficult to cope with public opinion that was vehemently against holding the Social Conference in the pandal of the National Congress itself. In S. V. Date the Moderate party caught a tartar, as it were. In Poona of those days he was considered to be a personality invested with a dreadful and portentous import. The description of an Admiral by Robert Southey in one of his poems would fit in with a description of this man. He was indeed

> " A terrible man with a terrible name,—
> A name which you all know by a sight very well,
> But which no one can speak, and no one can spell."

By his marvellous intellectual powers and unparalleled, retentive memory which rarely go with gigantic physical strength, but which in his solitary case had been joined together, he had amassed immense hoards of wealth. When such a powerful personage showed his inclinations towards the Tilak party, it was

sufficient to carry the hearts of Tilak's opponents to their boots!

Date was rightly considered as a man from the epics—his forehead like the gate-way of a tower, his arms the iron-bolts of some inaccessible fortress. When it was learnt that such a double-barrelled giant in strength of body and money was added to Tilak's party, the Congress Committee appeared to be just on the point of passing into the hands of Tilak. Date prevailed upon Justice Ranade to agree to holding the Social Conference outside the Congress pandal. But somehow Ranade dishonoured his own word and forswore his promise. This put Date on his mettle and he arranged a public meeting on the 10th of November. It was a huge gathering. Date treated it to his discourse which was naturally in keeping with his reputation. It lasted for over an hour and a half. His argument was simple. He did ask for a successful and peaceful session of the Congress in Poona; but he declared that the people of Poona entrusted the work of the National Congress in the hands of the social reformers for holding the Congress session in a becoming manner and not for any other extraneous or inappropriate purpose. To abuse that trust was extremely wrong. He also told the audience that both Tilak and himself were social reformers. In fact, he asked what man

who had taken English education was not a social reformer! So far as this part of his speech was concerned, it was taken with grace. But in this very speech he uttered a warning that a session of the Congress held in the teeth of public opposition would not be a national affair and that if the social reformers persisted in their strange resolve, the Congress session would be a bear-garden, and scenes as at the time of Swami Dayanand would repeat themselves. These stinging remarks served to trim the fire of public commotion already raised over the question. Date's regular visits to the site of the Congress pandal, with his habitual defiance and grotesqueness of temperament, swelled the volume of the flames. The organisers of the Congress were so frightened with the behaviour of Date that they had kept in readness the fire-extinguishing apparatus just near the pandal.

Fortunately, however, things did not come to this pass. Tilak himself had resigned from the working committee of the Congress and had washed his hands clean of any active responsibility for it. It also happened that when public meetings were held in different places for electing delegates to the Congress, resolutions were passed by them not to hold the Social Conference in the Congress mandap. Ranade received bags of such letters. Most of the prominent newspapers, including even the sympathetic papers,

expressed themselves to be against the procedure intended by Ranade. Public opinion grew hot and hotter against the Social Conference and at last on the 28th of November, Ranade threw up the sponge. He published the cancellation of the idea of holding the Social Conference in the Congress pandal. The *Kesari* issued a special number and spread the glad news throughout Maharashtra. This is not the place to analyse and discuss the causes of Ranade's change of mind. For Tilak's party it was none the less a triumph. But the heat and height of victory did not deflect Tilak from his path of duty. He preached that the people should come forward with a more generous and unrestrained help to the Congress, now that the impending barrier was destroyed. He insisted that it was not an important point whether the Congress was held by A or B. The fact of the successful session of the Congress was the principal thing. It would not be proper and wise to import old controversies into renewed undertakings. Tilak's preaching was not simply a barren pulpiteering. For Tilak collected a sum of about Rs. 25,000 and sent it to the working committee. At least after that concrete expression of Tilak's sincerity about the Congress and performance of duty, it could have been possible for the working committee to gracefully share half and half the responsibility of the Congress with

Tilak's party. The fact, however, was that the working committee, smarting under the defeat, chose to have Tilak's room rather than his company.

In spite of all these preliminary dissentions the Congress session was held with remarkable successs in Poona. Tilak's party was not represented in the mangement of the Congress. But Tilak had taken care to retain the individuality of his party in the matter of paying its respects to the president of the Congress. Here we get a very beautiful proof of the artful ingenuity of Tilak's mind. Surendranath Bannerji, the president-elect of Poona Congress, was of course received with due grandeur at the Poona Railway station. Tilak wished that his party should be the first and the earliest in doing homage to the honoured president. It was arranged that the president should arrive in Poona *via* Dhond by the Dhond-Manmad line. Gokhale, the secretary of the Congress Committee, had gone to Dhond to accord welcome to the president on behalf of the Committee. Seeing that the president was sleeping, Gokhale was just quietly waiting at the station. Tilak deputed his nephew with his autograph letter with a view to stealing a march over Gokhale. While Gokhale was waiting to see Bannerji awake, Mr. Vidwans, Tilak's most trusted deputy, caught sight of him exactly when

he was just opening the carriage-door and handed in Tilak's note to him. When Gokhale approached the compartment, to his great surprise he found Bannerji glancing over Tilak's own hand-writing. Similarly, Tilak anticipated the Congress Committee in garlanding the president. The Reception Committee had made all arrangements at the Poona station. Tilak and his friends offered their reception at Hadapsar, two stations before Poona.

The visit of the president and other great Indian worthies to Poona was also exploited by Tilak for his Shivaji memorial movement. A huge meeting was held in the Reay market in which Surendranath Bannerji and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered rousing addresses on Shivaji. The propinquity of Tilak, secretary of the memorial movement and Babu Surendranath Bannerji, the president of the Congress, was an eyesore to the social reformers who had no part or lot in the memorial movement. But even this humiliation of Tilak's opponents and the triumph of Tilak's party was not all. A garden party was given by Srimant Baba Maharaj in honour of the Congress delegates. Here also the host was a great friend of Tilak. Though not a secretary of the Congress Committee, Tilak succeeded in driving the Social Conference out of the Congress pandal and in doing distinc-

tive honour to the president of the Congress. These achievements of Tilak's party created great impression on the leaders of other provinces and showed to the people of what stern stuff he was made. In the Social Conference of the year Justice Ranade delivered an important address in which he explained the causes of the controversy over the question of the use of the Congress pandal for housing the Social Conference. The main cause he put forth was surprisingly strange. He said that the peculiar controversy arose in Poona only on account of the desire of the social reformers to work in co-operation with public opinion and also in co-operation with one another. The Maharashtra social reformers did not want to start a special sect of their own as, for instance, the Brahmos of Bengal had done. In Maharashtra the orthodox and the heterodox among the people were acting in consultation with each other. Such a kind of utterance was remarkable in the mouth of a staunch advocate of social reform like Justice Ranade. Those people had not been far wrong who took this utterance of his to be symptomatic of a change of heart in Justice Ranade, in all probability due to the triumphant activities of Tilak.

A little interesting incident issued out of this controversy. Gokhale in one of his circulars once used the word "Brute

force" to indicate the power of public opinion. Tilak always on the alert to spy out weak points in his enemy's armour, raised a storm against Gokhale for this indiscretion. Gokhale had observed that Tilak was trying to effect his purpose by means of brute force. Tilak at once took up the word and analysed it before the public, bringing out the affront to public opinion involved therein. Tilak said that Gokhale had applied the word 'brutes' to all people in general. This allegation against him was a shock to the exceedingly delicate and sensitive mind of Gokhale. He ran to Principal Selby of the Deccan College for an explanation of the word 'brute force'. Prof. Selby wrote out as follows: "To say that in attributing to certain people a design to carry their measures by 'brute-force' you intended to call them brutes, is nonsense." In spite of this learned commentary, Tilak hammered upon the people the intolerable insult gratuitously offered by Gokhale to popular judgment. Even if the literal meaning of brute may not have been intended to be applied by Gokhale to the people, the sting in the metaphorical use of it was none the less poisonous. The word 'brute force' has become famous in the political history of Maharashtra. It has its special significance in the fact that the key-stone of the arch of Tilak's public career was the never-fail-

ing support of that public opinion which Gokhale had the indiscreet audacity to stigmatize with the wantonly opprobrious appellation of 'brute force'.

Another small but noticeable offshoot of this mandap controversy was the suit of defamation brought by Tilak against the *Hindu* of Madras. It was with regard to a news-item sent by a Poona correspondent, of course, of Gokhale's party, to the *Hindu* in connection with the public meeting held in Poona for electing delegates to the Congress. The social reformers had convened a meeting of the Poona public in a private house with a view to packing it with their own men and electing delegates of their own party. But Tilak always saw through a grind-stone. The organisers of the meeting were hoist with their own petard. Long before the time of the meeting Tilak and his followers got into the meeting-place and filled up all the seats, so that Gokhale and his friends themselves had no sitting room. The Poona correspondent in question wired to the *Hindu* that Tilak took the aid of the students in his law-class for thus excluding the managers of the meeting. The complaint of Tilak was that the allegation against his students was defamatory of their conduct and excruciatingly painful to his mind. The suit was, of course, aimed not at the *Hindu* itself whose editor was on good terms with

Tilak, but against the mischievous Poona correspondent who appeared to be a henchman of Gokhale. The real motive in the action was brought out by the fact that the suit was not ultimately lodged. The intention was to expose the disgraceful tactics of Gokhale's party, rather than to penalize a friendly like the *Hindu*.

CHAPTER XXI

A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF

SARVAJANIK SABHA AND DECCAN SABHA.

NO leader in history has attained to his high position without struggling with circumstances in which his lot happens to be cast. Every considerable public man has to fight out his way through institutions that are the emblems of the march of his own times. The institutions of a nation may properly be described as the mile-stones indicating its progress, or better still, they may be likened to the military stations or bivouacs which mark the advance of the forces of campaigning nationalism. A mile-stone measures only the extent of the travel completed, while the outposts not only map out the whole expedition but provide a convenient shelter where the army can recoup itself for further captures. The story of nations tells us, that all powerful national leaders have had to fight their way, inch by inch, in the midst of such institutions, first in the lesser ones and next in the more important. As a river makes its own bed over hills and through valleys and against rocks, or as a pioneer has to hack his route through dense forests and pathless seas, so a public leader has to

cut his way upward and onward in face of all the difficulties of his circumstances before which common men cannot but quail.

The first battle, after Tilak's debut in the field of politics, was fought in the Sarvajanik Sabha which is rightly supposed to be the premier political institution not only of Poona but of the whole of Maharashtra. Though, in its origin, it was started for the purpose of removing a small local grievance, it outlived that purpose to serve similar other ends of public importance. For many years before 1895, this Sabha was under the control of Justice Ranade and G. V. Joshi. It had a quarterly journal of its own and generally the whole institution was managed by a president, two secretaries and a fairly large executive committee. It must be stated that Justice Ranade, being a Government servant could not openly and officially participate in the working of the institution. But he had an irrepressibly expansive desire for public service of various kinds and wherever he went in the course of his duties, he had yet his eye on that institution. Before the revolution of 1895, as we may call it, in the history of the Sarvajanik Sabha, G. K. Gokhale was one of the secretaries doing his duty entirely under the guidance and instructions of his master and *Guru*.

The differences of opinion that were feebly smouldering in the minds of public men of

Poona before 1890 and which found a serious expression in Tilak's resignation of the Deccan Education Society, could not but cast their menacing shadows on this institution also. The catastrophe came at the time of the annual meeting of the Sabha on the the 14th of July, 1895. Tilak's party was fully in majority in that meeting and though Gokhale alone of Ranade's party was retained as the general secretary, all other office-bearers of that party were changed. But from the executive committee all members of Ranade's party were not excluded; a small number, not strong enough to dominate and yet not too insignificant to make them entirely hopeless of their strength, was kept up by Tilak. The policy underlying the retention of Gokhale as the secretary and of some members in the executive committee, however, was too transparent to bluff Tilak's opponents. At once they proceeded to paint this *coup d'etat* of Tilak in black colours and condemn his conduct. Tilak, of course, was more than a match for such maligners. With great force he defended his conduct against all mendacious propaganda and malicious attacks upon him. He not only paid off all the old scores in respect of the acts of commission or omission done by Ranade's party against persons belonging to his own party when the former was in power, but also pointed out

with emphasis that such a change of hands in accordance with the oscillation of majorities and minorities was quite consistent with constitutional law. He made a point of the re-election of Gokhale to the post of the general secretary and of the drafting of some of Ranade's men to the executive committee.

In this connection it is to be noted that Tilak did not think of starting a rival organization to spite the Sarvajanik Sabha, though he had certainly the capacity and the wherewithal to start one, on the lines of the Presidency Association of Bombay flowing out of the Bombay Association which, in its turn, issued from the East India Association. It was natural for Gokhale to feel somewhat like a fish out of water as the secretary of the Sabha. In fact, the arrangement was fated to topple down. He could not pull well together with a nearly antagonistic committee and ultimately resorted to the saving method of resignation to get out of the *impasse*. In the month of August, 1896, he tendered his resignation. His place was filled by the election of Prof. S. M. Paranjpe as the secretary; and the editorial work of the journal was entrusted to Mr. M. R. Bodas, High Court pleader of Bombay, who had by the time become one of the trusted men of Tilak.

This civil war in the Sarvajanik Sabha grew extremely bitter in its further develop-

ments. Gokhale published above his own signature an explanation of the happenings in the meeting. He admitted that it was not possible for him or for his party to compete with Tilak in enrolling new members in the Sabha and thus transforming his party into the majority Party. His main charge against Tilak's party was that of deception practised by it on the opposite party in the matter of election of a new president instead of the re-election of the old one. It was further his opinion that it was a mistake on the part of Tilak to have embroiled the Sarvajanik Sabha into the tangle of differences from which it was so long happily kept islanded with a definite purpose. Persons and papers that were partizans of Gokhale began roundly to abuse Tilak who was described as possessed with egotism and a kind of megalomania. He was painted as a demon of destruction, incapable of doing anything solid and constructive but otherwise endowed with abounding capacities for mischief. Dark prophecies about the Sarvajanik Sabha were also impudently hazarded.

These indiscriminate attacks against Tilak naturally led to a campaign of disgusting recrimination; and even insignificant details of each other's conduct were featured, if not caricatured, in the public press. What did Tilak do as secretary of

the Indian National Congress? How much subscription did he collect? How much did Gokhale contribute in writing the journal of the Sarvajanik Sabha? Did the number of subscribers fall off under the editorial regime of Gokhale? Such were the allegations and insinuations that were freely published on either side of the controversy. There was little truth in these queries and some of them were based on blatant falsehoods. But in such personal squabbles it is often seen that every stick that comes handy is good enough to strike the adversary. People, however, knew that while surrendering his charge of the Congress secretaryship, Tilak had submitted for public information the accounts both of his work as secretary and his collections. Similarly, it was not true to allege that Gokhale was liable to the charge of neglect of duty as the editor of the journal of the Sabha. As Tilak proved with facts and figures, Gokhale wrote only about 9 articles in the journal in the total of the 26 issues which appeared in his name. Even here we have to bear in mind that when Gokhale did not himself write for the journal, he requested greater men like Justice Ranade and G. V. Joshi to adorn the journal with their weightier writings.

The evil foretellings about the future of the Sabha in Tilak's hands, were, however, falsified by events. The malicious prophets

were proved by Tilak to be only selfish charltans! For soon after capturing the Sabha, he made arrangements for the efficient publication of the journal and did not spare himself in making the Sabha a real exponent of the public point of view in the management of public affairs, though, of course, everyone must admit that under him the Sabha met with peculiar difficulties which would not have overtaken it under Justice Ranade. In trusting the journal to the pen of Mr. Bodas, he certainly made it safe. But even then he never forswore all responsibility for it. With a bold ambition to make the people feel that the journal did not suffer a whit in passing hands, Tilak wrote an article on "Decentralization of Finance" in continuation of the series of articles that had been previously contributed by Justice Ranade. His aspiration was more than fulfilled. This article of Tilak was the fruit of deep study which Tilak was in the habit of bestowing on a particular subject when necessary, and of much profound experience which he derived from his membership of the Bombay Council, giving him innumerable opportunities to be in touch with the financial administration of the Government of Bombay. Justice Ranade's articles were masterly and so also were Tilak's. Readers did not find a recognizable break of link and that in itself constituted a tribute to

the versatile genius of Tilak. There was then and even afterwards a suspicion in the mind of Tilak's opponents that Tilak could only play dexterously the part of Robespierre. By this article he showed himself to be fully capable of being not only a constructive critic but also a successful engineer and architect who could count the cost and raise a building when the occasion demanded.

After this "Pride's purge", the Sabha was practically conducted under the supervision and control of Tilak. The rump of Ranade's party that was left in it, seeing its helplessness, ceased to take any interest in its affairs and gradually withdrew from it. Another organization on the lines of the Sabha was seriously in contemplation; and when Justice Ranade came to Poona towards the end of 1896, the idea took a definite shape. The chief underlying motive of such a rival institution seems to have been that, the older house was feared to have been rather too hot for both the youth and the age belonging to Ranade's party. Justice Ranade must perhaps have given a reluctant consent to the formation of a new body, only with the purpose of giving a free scope for work to his followers like Gokhale, who had by his abilities and work brought to his notice, like Noah's dove, a tremendous promise of good things. It might also be that he

accorded his approval to the scheme with a view to accommodate in a safe manner the Government pensioners who were in the Sabha previously, but who after the revolution might be afraid to remain within it. To support the idea of the new organization was not, in the case of Justice Ranade, an entire repudiation of the parent-stock. So intimate was his connection with the Sarvajanik Sabha and so profound was his love for it that, even after establishing a separate organization, Justice Ranade left in his will certain donations to some of his beloved institutions among which the Sabha was included.

Looking to the fundamental differences that existed between the very characters and mentalities of the persons that were divided in two camps, under the leadership of Justice Ranade and Tilak, we are tempted to presume that on the whole the bifurcation effected between the old and the new organizations was rightly conceived and far-sightedly carried out. By Tilak's writings in the *Kesari* and by the history of the differences in Poona, Ranade was not much wrong in concluding and acting upon his conclusion that, the policy of the Sabha under the new dynasty of rulers would be side-tracked from its time-honoured traditional lines of work. As soon as Tilak got wind of the new organization he became wild with rage. He could not bring himself to bear meekly the

very thought of setting upon foot a special Moderate body by the name of the Deccan Sabha. In the *Kesari* of 10th November, 1896, he wrote a flaming article which threatens to go down into the history of Marathi journalism as a classical example of invective. The very head-line of that article breathed bitter indignation. In the rubric, Tilak asked in capital letters "Is it dotage or puerility?" From the first letter to the last, Tilak poured through this article over the heads of the original movers in the launching of the Deccan Sabha, burning vials of blazing wrath. These high victims were bathed in red-hot streams of roasting lava.

Justice Ranade was described to have committed a blunder more heinous than a crime. He was grossly bankrupt in statesmanship. Like Bacon who was judged by his contemporaries to have been the wisest and yet the meanest of mankind, Ranade though gifted with a gigantic intellect, possessed a heart always pitched in the lowest of moral keys. He could not bear any rival to his throne. Tilak was a thorn in his side. The day on which the Deccan Sabha was launched was the most inauspicious day in the Hindu calendar and was the fittest to produce thoughts dark as Erebus. And the place also at which that black decision was taken was one the sight of which no gentleman could put up with. The persons that would constitute the Dec-

can Sabha were no more useful than worn-out horses bearing upon them the indelible marks of slavery. There would be in it old soldiers that might recount their past deeds of bravery rather than be inspired to undertake new ones. Ranade had been guilty of infanticide. He had been hard-hearted enough to pluck by the roots the very tree he had planted and watered.

These are a few samples of the statements and allegations which Tilak loaded his article with. From the publishing of this tirade against Justice Ranade and his followers, every cool critic even while putting himself into a kind of historical perspective, will necessarily infer that, by whatsoever reason or reasons, Tilak's blood did then rule his "safer guides" and his passion, having his "best judgment collied," assayed to lead the way of this article. He himself thought as much, for towards the end of the article he expressed the hope that he would be no more called upon to re-handle a pen besmirched with irreverent pollution and vituperative voluptuousness. What enraged Tilak most was not so much the mischievous trick of demonstrating the nearness to the Government of the Deccan Sabha and the remoteness of the Sarvajanik Sabha, practised by the promoters of the new Sabha with a view to curry favour with the Government and at the same time spitefully to put its rival

into wrong with them, as the fact that, the seceders condemned the Sarvajanik Sabha without any cause. From the prospectus of the Deccan Sabha issued for public information, the artful endeavours of it to show to the Government that Codlin was the friend and not Short, were easily deducible. The promoters of the Deccan Sabha proclaimed themselves to be actuated in their policy by the principles of liberalism and moderation, which two words have had a much remarkable history in Indian politics. The first word was used to denote the political colour and the second to express the social tinge in the views of this new organization.

It was the obvious intention of the draftsmen of this original manifesto to bring out as clearly as possible the distinction between the old and the new bodies. Every school boy could thus find for himself that the elder of the two sisters was more orthodox and crude in social matters and more violent and "root-and-branch" in political affairs than the after-born. The ever-watchful and fault-finding Anglo-Indian papers were not slow vulture-like to peck at this uncovered sore in the political views of Tilak and his party. They availed themselves of this self-approaching convenient opportunity to exhibit Tilak in an unfavourable and misleading silhouette as it were and simultaneonsly to photograph

and hold up before the public eye his opponents with an added luscious lustre which flash-light often lent. The *Times of India* misrepresented in its columns the advice of Tilak to the people in famine as a "No-rent campaign". This comparison was obviously intended to suggest that the Sarvajanik Sabha under the auspices of which Tilak carried on his anti-famine agitation, should be abolished by the Government as its supposed prototype, the Irish Land-league, was abolished by the British Government. It might, however, be stated the such ironies and innuendoes against Tilak were counterblasted with much effect by some pseudonymous writers in the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Times*, who contrasted the conduct of Tilak with that of his opponents. When Tilak had to resign his secretaryship of the Indian National Congress, he all at once surrendered the charge and cleared off the whole account, while his opponents felt discomfited as soon as they were out of power and set up in spite a rival organization!

Well. The differences of opinion between the two Sabhas did not thereafter figure prominently in public. Both of them continued to act in ordinary matters more or less on much the same lines. They may be said to have run together and yet apart in days that followed, as the railway might alternately touch and part from the course of an

adjoining river. Yet the Government could easily make a distinction between the two organizations by its behaviour towards them. As a matter of fact, neither of the two did succeed in securing from the Government any very notable advantages or concessions to the people. The favouritism of the Government became surprisingly manifest when it took the first opportunity to disaffiliate, as it were, the Sarvajanik Sabha on the excuse of the mistakes of one of the Sabha's agents and kept itself well with the Deccan Sabha, that is to say, the Government ceased to entertain applications or letters received from the first Sabha, while it used to reply to, and if possible to consider favourably, the requests made on behalf of the Deccan Sabha.

It is difficult for posterity to judge with any exactness between the good and the bad of this bitter controversy. The contention of Tilak was that, by the separation of a group of persons from the Sarvajanik Sabha taking the name of the Moderate, the remaining members were left in the false position of being liable to be denominated as the Extremists. He wished that both the groups should work together and in co-operation like the hands which, though in a sense divorced from each other, belonged to the same body as its two limbs. Both these hands formed a symbiosis only if they were not severed from each other; even

so, Tilak insisted, the two groups should not have so completely disjoined from each other. The policy of 'divide and rule' pursued by the Government ever since its early days was so forcibly borne in upon him that he could not but see in the offing the deeply deleterious and palsying effects on public work which such a partition was sure to entail. There was absolutely no doubt that in finding out the deep-laid core of the inner policy of the Government, Tilak had hit the nail on the head. It was proved by the actions of the Government that became evident afterwards, most notably and shockingly in Bengal.

So far, even a sworn enemy of Tilak could not utter the least breath of unfavourable criticism against his carriage in this matter. But at the same time no fair appreciator and admirer of his can, without qualms of conscience, allow his crushing attacks on his opponents to pass muster. It might even be said in extenuation that it was not possible, and it would not have been possible, for these radically different two groups of persons to pull well together. The characters of both were cast in different moulds, the timbres of their temperaments were prodigiously discordant, the chords of their hearts were not harmoniously attuned. To add to this, we have also to take into account that, though Tilak could not hold a new Indian National Congress of

which he had to wash his hands clean, his followers had suggested the formation of a fresh executive committee which was possible for them to do. After coming out of the Deccan Education Society Tilak did not, of course, think of a competitive educational institution ; nevertheless he had to devise all the instruments and apparatus necessary for the public life of a popular champion. Justice Ranade and Gokhale,by no stretch of imagination, could be accused of having followed a policy far different from this. When differences of opinion arise between two men of a similar character, they are in a position to turn the corners and manage to continue partnership in work. But when the seeds of difference are sown thick in the minds of men, elementally differing from each other in their general constitution and mental outfit, they sprout into thick foliage and at last yield a crop of flowers that spread a poisonous odour and of fruits that taste as bitter as the Dead Sea Apples. What was likely to be thought somewhat objectionable was the fury of the words used by Tilak. Neither Ranade nor Gokhale is reported to have given expression to any such vehemently harsh words about Tilak. If on the side of Ranade there is to be debited a kind of sloppy softness for the Government, we cannot but record in Tilak's account-books a most unrestrained licence of personal diatribe against Ranade and his

group. To-day all the persons engaged in that unseemly controversy have been consigned to the mortuary of history. And this article of Tilak alone might remain in our political literature as a specimen of Tilak's occasional outbursts of temper against his opponents.

CHAPTER XXII

TILAK AND TWO GOVERNORS

BETWEEN the years 1885 and 1895, *i.e.* in the important decennium of Tilak's public life covered by this volume of his biography, the presidency of Bombay had accidently come to be ruled by two Governors whose administrations bore quite opposite complexions. They were Lord Reay and Lord Harris. Whatever the personal graces or otherwise of a Governor, he receives either praise or blame from the public according as his regime, as a whole, conduces to the weal or the woe of the people in his charge. As in a watch, a man looks to the hands on the dial and not to the wheels or inside works of it and tells the time by the hands themselves, so in the governmental machinery also the Governor of a province who is the symbol of the whole apparatus is held to be responsible for the operation of the machinery. The Government of the presidency is carried on in the name of the Governor and as its head, it rightly falls to his lot to be the object of eulogy or the target of popular condemnation.

From the pople's point of view, the results of Lord Reay's rule were happier far than those of the regime of Lord

Harris. The former carried out—and where he could not carry out he exhibited his sincerity to do so—certain measures decidedly calculated to advance the interests of the public. It is unnecessary here to give particulars of his achievements. Briefly speaking, Lord Reay very often stood on the side of the people, and fought for justice, even though his fight might range him against his own brethren. He evinced his love of justice in the Crawford case and in the enquiry into the conduct of the political agent of Cambay who himself was an Englishman. In other respects also, such as the removal of the people's forest grievances, nomination of popular members to the Legislative Council, lending generous assistance to the people in their distress and such other matters, Lord Reay behaved sympathetically to the public and so endeared himself to them. He took deep interest in the industrial and educational progress of the people, and nothing gave him such a secure place in the people's heart as his endeavours in this sphere. More than Gokhale, Tilak came into close personal touch with Lord Reay. This familiarity, as both knew each other's heart, ripened into a friendship before which formality hid itself. Tilak used to meet Lord Reay in connection with some work of the college, or even other business, as freely as a friend meets a friend.

Tilak's manners and behaviour with Lord Reay and Lord Harris served to bring out, by contrast, the underlying principle of Tilak's political policy. Tilak never hesitated to offer the boquets of praise even to an Englishman, where praise was due. He never failed to appreciate the great gifts of head and heart which Lord Reay as Governor and Lord Ripon as Viceroy brought to bear upon their respective administrations. Readers of the *Kesari* know well that his sense of appreciation of virtue was so deep that, he wrote a leader when Mr. Bruin, the Police Superintendent, passed away. It goes without saying that had he been the active editor of the *Kesari* when Lord Reay retired, Tilak would never have hesitated in giving the departing Governor his well-merited meed of praise.

From Lord Reay to Lord Harris is a dismal bathos. The entry of Tilak into the public political life coincided with the assumption of the Governor's office by Lord Harris. Unfortunately, this assumption was the signal for unutterable maladministration of public affairs at the hands of the new Governor. The aim of Tilak's public life was to organise and consolidate a people's party to oppose the unbreachable front presented by the Government and to express the voice of the people through the press. This being the ideal which Tilak invariably fixed before himself, a formidable clash with a Governor

like Lord Harris was daily expected by Tilak. Such a collision was as unavoidable as that of two engines starting from two opposite directions and telescoping together with a mighty crash. If it was considered that a policy of fighting was necessary from the nation's point of view, what Tilak did must receive the sanction of public approbation. The furnace of his criticism of the regime of Lord Harris was heated by Tilak so fiercely and violently that, very nearly he was on the brink of singeing himself. It is true that the fire of condemnation which Tilak struck with the flint of his mind and the steel of his pen was undoubtedly frightful. The worst of it was that it was fanned into flames by the winds which the sycophants of Lord Harris raised by their profuse breaths of praise in setting on foot an agitation to erect a memorial to him. As regards the notorious and scandalous character of the rule of that Governor, the Moderates and the Nationalists, if we might be allowed to use these distinctive party-labels at that stage, had for once agreed with each other. Gokhale could, of course, never be accused of being intemperate or impassioned in his judgments.

Indeed, he was reputed to be so courteous in behaviour and balanced in his views, that he would rather give the benefit of doubt to the other party than be even faintly suspected of the least partiality

or passionateness. But even he wrote in the quarterly journal of the Sarvajanik Sabha about Lord Harris in these words: "No regime has ever left so many disagreeable memories behind. Certainly, no regime, within our memory, was guilty of more systematic defiance of public opinion and set the rulers and the ruled wider apart." These words are without doubt euphemistic. From the pen of Gokhale, harsher words could not have been expected. But when even an imperturable and finely cultured Moderate is compelled to write down this verdict on the Governorship of Lord Harris, readers may well imagine to themselves what must have been the spirit of Tilak who was the real spokesman of the people's point of view and who was bent upon asserting it without euphemisms or other extenuations in accordance with the fashionable code of a Moderate gentleman's manners, at the close of the blackest of black careers of a head of the presidency!

The sinister attempts of the sheep-fold of the admirers and flatterers of Lord Harris at raising a memorial to him in the name of the public and the offensive references Lord Harris, in a defiant mood, made in his public speeches, to the lack of common sense in the leaders and the followers, made the situation worse. Both the attempts and the words were gratuitous insults to public opinion. The idea itself of commemorating

with public subscriptions the hateful reign of a Governor like Lord Harris, was considered by Tilak and the people to be an atrocity. Tilak not only condemned the idea of a memorial, but wrote strongly against the grotesque habits of certain unctuous sections of the people of vying with one another in trying to give their selfish and protuberant loyalty to a foreign ruler a permanent habitation and a name! Perhaps a memorial, on the limited ground of the Governor's love of sports, might possibly have been looked on with favour by a larger number of people. Justice Ranade and Pherozeshah Mehta had embraced the idea of this definitive memorial. But why it was dropped away, is not credibly known. Tilak, however, had no patience even with this sort of a restricted memorial to Lord Harris. With great trenchancy, he blazed up into the press with the statement that, the presiding deity of the gymnasium in India could easily make shift only with a garland of wild flowers, a three pice cocoanut and a pice or two of camphor to boot, while Lord Harris' liking for sports was supposed to be deserving of an expenditure of thousands of rupees for a memorial to itself.

This agitation against the memorial was one of the most remarkable among those multifarious agitations which it was Tilak's good or bad fortune to carry on. This history repeated itself in sharper outline and per-

haps, greater vigour, in the Willingdon memorial agitation, the memory of which is yet green in the present generation. In the older agitation thundering newspapers like the *Bombay Chronicle* were not in existence, but Tilak and his '*Kesari*' stood alone in the vanguard of that movement, and they together, off their own bat, demolished the idea of a memorial in the name of the public. About a dozen people, however, including Dr. Bhandarkar, took shelter in the cave of Adullam, scraped together a small sum of money and decided anyhow to carry out their cherished ambition. Tilak cruelly chastised these old, extra-loyal Adullamites with the scorpion-whip of his stinging pen. He showed that those officers or people who danced attendance upon them or otherwise loved to fawn upon them in the most abject manner, had strayed away from the path of public service. He was never accustomed to forgiving them. He was neither unready to strike them nor afraid to wound them. His way was always clear-cut; his weapon was ever sharpened and furbished up; his bow hardly ever unstrung to aim at the persons that offended against the interests of the public. He freely and boldly lent the publicity of the '*Kesari*' to the aggrieved people who poetized their disgust and detestation of the administration of Lord Harris. To conclude, Tilak had to content himself with remarking that,

what he had expressed in the *'Kesari'* as regards the question of Lord Harris' regime was nothing as compared to what he felt in his heart of hearts. So unspeakable and intolerable was the dissatisfaction which the regime had called forth! Indeed, he who remained unaffected by the surrounding atmosphere of execration against Lord Harris' infamous satrapy must be pronounced to be either a stone or a God.

CHAPTER XXIII

FAMINE OF 1896

MAHARASHTRA is already known to be a specially marked home for famines. The most devastating famine of 1876 might now have been nearly wiped out from the tables of public memory. But in spite of the proverbial shortness of public memory, the portentous famine of 1896 still continues to send through the frame of the public of Maharashtra a thrill of the old remembered shock. Since that memorable year there have been several visitations of this wrath of God; and the people of Maharashtra have had the misfortune to pass through a cycle of more or less severe famines. It will not be proper to consider the famine of 1896 in the light of its modern successors. As in the case of anti-plague remedies, the Government was completely unacquainted with anti-famine remedies. On account of certain civilizing agencies like the railways, communication between province and province has become more and more easy to-day than in 1896. Employment for such classes of people as provided the fodder for famines, has become comparatively more varied and enlarged in scope. To speak the truth, people starve in the present times also. But the harrowing

sights of cattle by the thousand lying in the way in the last gasps of death and men and women weltering in their last agonies on the roads, have happily become very rare.

In the famine of 1876 the Government of course had no ready-made scheme of relief. But since then the famine code was prepared from the experience gained in the first famine. Naturally, agitation against the famine of 1896 took the form of drawing the attention of the Government to the provisions of the code and asking for their enforcement when famine conditions had again prevailed. Tilak saw that there was an opportunity for him to serve the public. With all his energies fired by the spirit of public service, he fell to the task and carried on such a vigorous political agitation that the cup of his unpopularity with the Government was nearly filled to the brim.

Tilak was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1896. The Sarvajanik Sabha was entirely in his control. He saw that as a Councillor he had little opportunity to bring pressure upon the Government, for except on the budget, members had no privilege to criticise the Government; nor could an urgent matter of public importance be thrust on the attention of the Government by means of a private resolution. At best, he could utilize his influence lent by his membership to him, with the Executive Councillors

of the Government. But this field for work was too narrow and small for Tilak in consideration of the tremendous nature of the catastrophe. Through his *Kesari*, Tilak, of course, carried out to some extent the object he had placed before him in that respect. In September of the year, the *Kesari* warned the public of the distant rumblings of the approach of the famine. Tilak's warnings were not given a day too early. Famine gradually conquered district after district and annexed it to its destructive empire. People were aghast at the horror of the new diabolical visitation. Nothing appeared about it in the Government Gazette though famine was dealing out to the unfortunate people of Maharashtra devastation's destructive doom.

The proof of it, however, was that wheat in large quantities began to be imported into India and Hindu children by the score began to be coaxed by Christian missionaries into the flock of Jesus. The absence of any reference to the famine in official papers enraged the public mind and popular newspapers protested against what was probably the Government's deliberate policy of suppression. From the third week of October, the *Kesari* of Tilak came bravely forward to champion the cause of the people. It roused the people to a consciousness of their rights in compelling the Government to behave in

accordance with the famine code. To the people, it gave the advice to stop plunder of corn, to start philanthropic shops for cheap provisions and thus help the Government in whatever constructive measures they chose to adopt to mitigate the tribulations of the famished people. People had to ride, Tilak stressed, in a double harness, as it were. It must needs do what lay within the compass of its power and resources to relieve the anxiety of the people and further it must also force the folded hands of the Government to discharge what duties appropriately devolved upon them.

To re-inforce the agitation through the papers, Tilak decided to work through the Sarvajanik Sabha. That institution had already been used as a powerful instrument by Justice Ranade in the famine of 1876–77. As Tilak completed the series of articles on "Decentralization of Provincial Finance" begun by Ranade, so he also carried forward the agitation for famine relief in the same path as was chalked out by Justice Ranade in the previous famine. Justice Ranade in all his movements kept himself assiduously behind and Tilak too who was a great admirer of Ranade's qualities of leadership and often openly paid him the highest compliment by imitating his methods, loved to remain in the back-ground in that agitation as well as in others.

In the course of the agitation carried on in Maharashtra on behalf of the Sarvajanik Sabha, several applications and representations setting out the people's demands were forwarded to the Government. Tilak had a large share in drafting these documents as well as other miscellaneous correspondence that had to be carried on with the Government in relation to the famine. Those applications, in the main, contained a description of the famine conditions in various districts as they came to be affected and suggested remedies to relieve the people of the appalling distress. At the instance of Tilak, the Sarvajanik Sabha appointed travelling agents to collect information on the spot and report local famine conditions to the Sarvajanik Sabha, to be ultimately incorporated into applications sent to the Government. He fought much for the relief of the weavers by asking the Government to provide yarn to them and to get from them a more suitable and productive work than stone-breaking or such other imposition. A scheme of a joint-stock company to be substantially helped by the Government, was drawn up in consultation and co-operation with one or two prosperous merchant-princes in Sholapur, for the purpose of making up the necessary capital to distribute yarn in sufficient quantities to the unemployed weavers. As a matter of fact, that scheme

was inspired by the purest of humanitarian and philanthropic motives, but on one pretext or another, the Government refused to sanction it, though the organizers of the scheme were ready to execute it under the Government control. For the alien Government, however, the excellent scheme was of no value and it was dismissed, not even with the scantiest courtesy.

With the object of educating public opinion about the rights of the people with respect to famine operations, Tilak prepared an exceedingly useful Marathi book giving within its small compass a gist of the famine code of the Government, resolutions of the Government issued from time to time, information of relief works started by the Government, concessions given to the Government officials in view of famine, rules of Takavi loans and such other pertinent matters. That publication was of the greatest use to the people. It was decided that copies of the book should be circulated among the people through the Collectors of districts, so that popular attention would be the more compellingly attracted to it. But the Government was too old a bird to be caught so easily by sprinkling the salt of this publication over its tail. Some Collectors were courteous enough to return the copies with thanks. Others possessed of a less dignified and more impatient temper, consigned them

in a huff to the waste-paper basket. A few, however, grew hot with the copies and flung them into the fire. Obviously, those facts showed that much water had flowed under the bridge from the days of 1876. In those good old days, the Sarvajanik Sabha had, of course, undertaken such propaganda for the benefit of the public. The Government did not think fit at that time to treat it with contempt; but on the contrary, two secretaries to the Government of Bombay and one Governor spoke about the work with joyful gratitude.

The contrast between the two attitudes of the Government could not escape public attention. In 1876 the Goverment knew that in respect of the agitation against famine, the voice was the voice of Jacob but the hands were the hands of Esau—that is to say, Justice Ranade was the real power behind the institution and the agitation carried on through it. On the contrary, in 1896, the Government was fully aware that, whoever be the visible and the audible spokesman of the Sarvajanik Sabha, the motive power and brain was the motive power and brain of Tilak. And for the Government, between Ranade and Tilak there was a great dividing gulf. While the former was considered to be a friend to the Government, the latter appeared more or less in the garb of a portent. In spite of Ranade's

participation in the movement, the fact of his being a Government servant was a considerable and unchallanged asset. As soon as, however, the name of Tilak rose to the Government's lips or his picture stood up before their mind's eye, the whole history of Tilak's career from 1891 onwards emerged before them like a terrifying apparition!

In the course of the famine-relief work undertaken by the Sabha it was inevitable that it should at any moment come into serious conflict with the Government. The course of love is said never to run smooth. But the unevenness of that course may be considered to be beaten by that of the awry and meandering channels through which public agitation, especially under an active regime, is usually made to flow. In addition to the above-described measures of relief, the Sabha submitted an application to the Government in January of 1897. The main point in it was that the policy of the Government in respect of remission of land revenue was not as generous as in 1876, and that the Government had made a series of unnecessary distinctions between a real agriculturist and a non-real agriculturist, between a rich land-holder and a poor land-holder and so on, with a view to narrowing down the sphere of remission to as small dimensions as possible. The application had also exposed the secret instructions given by certain Collectors

of districts to Mamlatdars, which were likely to produce harmful effects on the agriculturists. The exposure of the Government in that respect threw their officials into a rage against the Sabha, and at last the quarrel between the Sabha and the Government came to a head. At that moment, one of the agents of the Sabha published a pamphlet making certain allegations against the Government, which were manifestly false. As soon as those allegations were brought to the notice of the Government, an explanation of them was forthwith demanded.

Looking to-day at the relations as they developed between the Sabha and the Government, from the perspective afforded by the passage of above a score of years, we have to conclude that the conduct of the Government in connection with the secret instructions issued to Mamlatdars, as also the conduct of the Sabha in not offering a straightforward explanation of the genuine mistake committed by one of its agents, was open to blame. It was wrong on the part of the Government to have issued demi-official instructions leading to a restriction of the effect of the famine-relief policy of the Government; similarly, it was wrong on the part of the Sabha to have failed to give the Government a fair deal. The result of course was, as it should be. From first to last, it was a struggle, described in children's school-books as taking place

between an earthen pot and a brass jar. The Government was equipped with copious resources and inexhaustible strength, while the Sabha was working mostly by subscriptions. The Sabha was disfranchised by the Government in the end. That is to say, it ceased to receive that recognition from the Government as a representative body of the people, which it had acquired by its traditions and long-continued sincere work under the able and masterful guidance of Justice Ranade, in the main. That informal but nevertheless effective affiliation was withdrawn by the Government.

Through the *Kesari* also, much service was done to the public in those days by Tilak. An agitation has a double debt to pay. On the one side, it has to stir the dovecotes of the Government from their convenient lethargy or diplomatic indifference or crass ignorance. On the other side, it has to awaken the people to a sense of their duties and rights and to enlighten them on the objects of agitation. The Sarvajanik Sabha, through its applications and memorials to the Government achieved the first well; the *Kesari* by means of its fierce but truthful articles accomplished the other. The reins of both were in the hands of Tilak and he carried on the double agitation with such commanding skill that people came to regard him as their saviour. From

the 17th of November, 1896, as the famine conditions grew more and more serious and pitiful, his articles in the *Kesari* became proportionately more passionate and insistent. His line of argument was peculiar in those articles. He told the people that the Government was their own, that officers constituting the Government were their own, that people had a right of familiarity to demand kindness from them, that it was the duty of those officials rather than that of the people themselves, to fight for giving succour and help to those famished hordes, that the Government's money was their own money, and that if it quantity was lessened by suspension or remission of land revenue, they themselves would willingly put up with the loss.

That advice to the people was obviously unexceptionable and given in such simple and homely language that it went to the bosoms of the people who quickly responded to it. As Tilak's policy was peaceful and soft where people were concerned, it was severe and scorching in its criticism of the Government. Tilak censured the Government for remaining aloof on the Olympian heights in a cool climate and thence declaring that a handful of corn ought to satisfy the public in the days of scarcity! At that very time, Lord Elgin, the Viceroy, had started on a tour for visiting some of

the states. Of course, wherever he went, thousands upon thousands of rupees were wasted. 'Fields of the cloth of gold' were displayed, gorgeous banquets were given, fire-works were exhibited, and every variety of luxury and prodigality was indulged in. With great poignancy Tilak pointed out that the same money would be a thousand times better employed in clothing the swarms of the indigent and redeeming from hunger the starving millions. That kind of criticism naturally had an instantaneous and mighty effect. In those circumstances, people felt that it was Tilak who was voicing forth their inner sentiments and that he alone of all others was their undaunted and indomitable tribune. The famine-agitation had become such an all-pervading topic of the day that the whole of Tilak's mind and three-fourths of his *Kesari* were occupied by that dominant question. Tilak wrote articles and notes on the various issues and points that rose from day to day, published translations of the Government reports and bulletins for people's information and gave full publicity to the reports of the two or three cases that were lodged by the Government against two or three agents of the Sarvajanik Sabha. In the midst of all this propaganda, he never forgot the constructive side. He never tired of preaching to the public the necessity of opening cheap grain-shops even at a sacrifice. He never

tired of laying before the Government a well-drawn-up scheme for relieving the distressed weavers. He never tired of asking the people to co-operate in meeting the night-attacks and plundering expeditions of desperate dacoits. Thus, in brief, Tilak started, sustained and successfully carried out an agitation on behalf of the people when they were sunk in deep misery and deserved the abounding gratitude of the public which never forsook him in his succeeding activities and is never likely to forget his revered and hallowed name.

CHAPTER XXIV

PLAGUE IN POONA

THE year 1896 turned out to be a period of a double disaster to the public of Poona. When sorrows come, as Shakespeare has said, they come not single spies. In that year, the people were already enormously harassed by one of the most devastating of famines that had ever visited India. To that unbearable misfortune was added the bubonic plague which appeared for the first time in this country. From the early beginnings of 1897 this twin disaster of the famine and the plague spread throughout the whole of Maharashtra. For once, those two kings of Brentford sat with ferocious activity on one destructive throne! For once, the sons of Œdipus ruled simultaneously, and not alternately, with the direst and the most ruthless consequences to their subjects. People were fairly familiar with the nature of the disaster of the famine but the other disaster of the plague was absolutely a stranger to them. They knew the consequences of famine; but the result of the plague was wholly inconceivable to them. In the very prelude of its entry into India, it struck such a terror into the tremulous hearts of the people that they felt to have died of

fear before Death had actually laid its icy hands on them. History has told us that a certain emperor conquered Italy simply by means of chalk-sticks. That monarch of destruction that had begun to rule those parts of the Bombay Presidency laid waste the places through which he progressed, not even by a tangible weapon like the crayon, but simply by the aid of the abstract feeling of panicky fear. The poet could easily sing:

> Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
> It seems to me most strange that man should fear.

Surely, he would not have been so wonder-struck if he had seen how the fear of the bubonic plague and the plague itself took victims by the thousand in India. But what to talk of the common people, when medical experts themselves were at their wit's end to define and diagnose the deadly disease that burst over India none knew how and from where!

The plague first appeared in certain slums of Bombay. It assumed gradually increasing proportions, till at last the whole of the city was entirely in its grips. The first impact of this new disaster staggeringly threw people out of breath. From one part of the city people began to move to another unaffected part and when that part also was caught up in the contagion, train-loads of people moved out to towns far and near, spreading on the way the virulent

infection. In Poona, the first plague-case took place probably in the month of October, 1896, a little later than the outbreak of that disease in Bombay. As soon as it showed signs of becoming exceedingly grave in its expansion and devastation, the Government took precautionary measures; and in proportion as the disease became more and more fatal and perilous, the measures also grew more and more rigorous. In Poona also, great care was taken against the dissemination of the disease. But nothing availed and like a triumphant general, it went on capturing place after place. When people were passing through such a torture of anxiety, not unmixed with the exasperation due to the exacting conditions of preventive regulations,the *Kesari* could not stand mute over the question. At the outset, it published a few articles of general information; and though Tilak was always a champion of the popular interests against the Government, he did not spare to give a bit of his mind to the people with regard to their ignorance and slovenliness with respect to the administration of local affairs and rules of hygiene and sanitation.

At the same time, he strongly criticised the policy that was chalked out by the Government. He pointed out to the Government that they did not prevent the

importation of plague in Bombay in the first instance, and then its spread outside Bombay. He plainly told the Government that the application of excessive strictness in preventive measures after the actual appearance of plague was not calculated to check the poison effectively; but rather they would cause unbearable harassments to the people. At the first blush, medical experts themselves were at a loss to diagnose fully the extraordinary disease. They had not imagined that it was a rapidly contagious disease. The Government themselves trembled in their shoes in horror of the strange calamity. But when the nature of the disease was known to some extent, the Government possibly took it into their head to make amends for neglect of duty in the first stages of the plague. The *Kesari* warned the Government that it was a wrong policy for them to seek to acquit themselves of that guilt by such a belated and cruel compensation. In brief, Tilak suggested to the Government that as the nature of the disease did not permit entire dependence on the ignorant people to eradicate it, so it could not be left in the sole authority of the Government officials to counteract it. The Government ought to delegate authority in that behalf to local bodies, that authority being exercised with a due mixture of strictness in exaction and regard for the people's feelings.

On the 4th of February a sweeping act was passed; the District Magistrates were invested with military powers and for offenders against the act severe punishments were laid down. Some prominent people also like the Maharaja of Darbhanga protested against such draconic legislation being rushed through. But the protest was to no purpose. Special officers also were appointed to carry out with ruthless severity the measures against the plague. Those measures were of two kinds viz., quarantine and hospital. The adoption of both those measures proved to be an unending torture to the people. They were put to enormous inconveniences as the arrangements both in the quarantine and in the hospitals were hopelessly unsatisfactory. The criticism of the *Kesari* in that respect was highly discriminatory. On the one hand, Tilak exposed the grievances of the people against the hospitals and the quarantine, in as scathing terms as he condemned the stupidity of the people in believing the hospitals to be institutions for killing men. All the while, when Tilak was engaged in constantly exposing the faulty nature of the Government's arrangements, he himself was excogitating the idea and plan of a separate private hospital.

To administer remedies against the plague Mr. Rand was specially appointed on the 17th of February. He had already shown

his promise and made himself known while serving as the Asst. Collector in the District of Satara. So to say, he was a man of the blood-and-iron type, thrifty of words and strict in execution. As soon as his appointment was gazetted, the people of Poona felt as if a bolt had fallen over their heads from the blue. Anticipating the results of the regime of such an officer, Tilak had forewarned the Government against the adoption of an excessive severity in measures, as it was likely to defeat the very purpose the Government had in view. Those timely warnings of Tilak, however, went unheeded and the assumption of charge by Mr. Rand was a veritable signal for the launching of a repressive policy which resulted in events that, even after a lapse of 30 years and more, revive shocking memories in the hearts of the people of Poona and elsewhere. The harassments of the people knew no bounds. The meaner among the policemen could, without fear, catch hold of any man in the street on suspicion of plague, force him to stand and deliver at the point of a bayonet and squeeze him into the hospital, if he refused to comply. Before the onslaughts of the army of the preventive officers, nothing was sacred: neither the Gods in the temple, nor ladies in the kitchen nor babies in the cradles! It is impossible now to conceive the heart-rending sufferings to which a suspect-

ed man was put. He was dragged away from his bed, his relatives were refused interviews with him. Those tortures reached such a crisis that in those days one would rather die than find oneself in the hands of those devils of persons!

On the whole, Tilak's attitude towards the anti-plague measures was entirely reasonable. He fearlessly censured the people for their extreme orthodoxy in the matter of the refusal to adopt the necessary preventive or curative measures. He blamed the people for suspecting the hospital-arrangements in various ways. He found fault with the educated people for not co-operating together in facing the calamity that had befallen the whole city. Without mincing matters, he asserted that the mal-administration and repression practised by Mr. Rand and his myrmidons would not have been so unrestrained, if the more enlightened sections of the people had made common cause with each other in concerting joint remedies and joint arrangements to stop the progress of the plague. That a large number of such people fled away with their families, was a disgraceful fact and an evidence of their incapacity to meet dangerous situations.

While Tilak was exposing the cowardly behaviour of the people, he did not spare the Government for their repressive measures. Week after week, through his paper he con-

tinued to warn the Government against inflaming the public mind by unbearably hard and strict measures. Whatever the Government intended to do, he emphasised, must be done through and in consultation with the local leaders and the local institutions. But the Government were carried off their feet by the fright they caught of the advance of the epidemic; and goaded by instructions from England to use the most specific and relentlessly effective measures against the plague for fear of their trade being hampered, they did not listen to Tilak's warnings. The sufferings of the people in the segregation-camps became everyday less and less endurable. Examination houses for tracing plague-cases grew increasingly vexatious and insulting. The hardships of the relatives of a plague-attacked man had no limits. When the party of disinfectors entered a house marked red as infected, it was as it were a party of robbers and dacoits attacking it. It was a case of the child being smothered to death while being bathed.

Tilak of course had full knowledge of the rising indignation of the public. He referred to the regime of Mr. Rand as a reign of repression, reminding the people of the old days of the Moghul rule. Still the policy of the Government abated nothing in its ferocity and remorselessness; and in a mood of desperation Tilak wrote

that the voice of the people was only a cry in the wilderness, unheeded by the Government and unacted upon by the anti-plague committee, for the simple reason that the people did not give up their meekness of temper and their spirit of acquiescence. What he felt in respect of the Government's steps to prevent the epidemic from spreading, he proved by a concrete example. A private hospital was set up through his instrumentality near the present site of the Poona Young Cricketers Hindu Gymkhana, to which the people willingly sent their plague-cases, while the Government had to hunt out and drag persons attacked by plague for being sent up to their hospital. He demonstrated to the Government that the people resented their interference and tried to hide rather than surrender plague-cases, because the plague officials had given no trustworthy credentials of their beneficent behaviour and that they took full advantage of the private hospital, because the arrangements were convenient to them and the treatment accorded to them quite in their line.

After a deadly and desolating devastation the epidemic began gradually to subside. On the 16th of May the enforcement of the anti-plague measures was declared to have been closed. The news of the subsidence of the plague was rejoicingly cabled to England; and strangely enough, the

beneficent activities of the anti-plague committees were generously applauded. But the irony of it whole was, that not a syllable of sympathy for the Indians that had undergone such tremendous sufferings and agonies, was uttered by those sapient spendthrifts of eulogy! However, the evil that the anti-plague committees had notoriously done, was not buried with their bones, but, as usually happens, continued to live after them. The epidemic disappeared; the plague committee was dismantled; the military rule of Mr. Rand was abolished. But alas! the memory of the exploits during the plague-regime could never be wiped out! For the people, it would certainly be easy to forgive the atrocities perpetrated over them, but it was impossible to forget them altogether.

That dark period in the history of Maharashtra served one purpose very well. It provided a crushing reply to all those do-nothing politicians and other arm-chair critics who, from a convenient shelter, always took sordid delight in taunting Tilak with being only destructive in his activities. Tilak's conduct in the famine and in the plague proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, that he was not merely a destructive critic but a constructive statesman of a high order. He who runs may read for himself that his criticism of the Government's policy with respect to the anti-plague measures had always been

coupled with constructive suggestions. As it was, he went even beyond mere suggestions. The maintenance of a hospital perhaps more efficiently managed than the Government's own hospital and surely more serviceable to the people, must redound to the credit of the constructive genius of Tilak. It was no mean achievement in those days. Then people were frightened out of their senses, money was scarce owing to the famine; and an insurmountable orthodoxy was in the ascendant. While his opponents had fled away from the city out of fear and were exhibiting their bravery only by means of their attacks from a safe distance against Tilak, he, undaunted by the plague, was living and moving in the plague-affected areas without taking thought for his own life, for the noble object of giving relief to his affrighted and unfortunate brethren. Let that, however, be. Though the dire regime of the plague and the remedies against it was nearly ended, it gave place to another regime in Poona of repression on account of an inconceivable and appalling tragedy into which the train of discontent that was being laid during the last six months at last exploded. It was the murder of Mr. Rand!

CHAPTER XXV

MARTYR OF JUSTICE

FIRST SEDITION CASE

THE first four years after Tilak's withdrawal from the Deccan Education Society were consumed by local and social controversies. Even after his assumption of the editorship of the *Kesari* in 1891, those very controversies continued to smoulder. At least we can presume that in those days, subjects had not arisen for journalistic and political criticism and propaganda that would compel the Government's cognizance by their fierceness. From 1893, however, a definite turn took place. Riots between the Hindus and the Moslems began to darken the political sky in India; the regime of Lord Harris uprose like a portentous comet; discontent due to the famine supervened in the public mind; and the notorious administration of remedies against the plague took away the people's breath. Tilak's criticism of all those facts naturally grew outspoken, terrifying and even vitriolic, and naturally the Government could not but view with concern the emergence of that new enemy in their side. The Government must have already found for themselves by Tilak's victories over his opponents in the social controversies that a new

bright star had begun to shine on the horizon. But in that appreciation there was a sense of respectful curiosity rather than a feeling of apprehension, not unmingled with the ginger of animosity. But when Tilak flourished his pen—which was probably mightier than his sword—in the face of the Government so violently in respect of the Hindu-Moslem riots, they realized that there was a formidable adversary that knew well how to attack the Government in their weakest points and how to strike them hard and strike them home. Tilak's name was thence permanently black-listed and all his movements and writings became objects of great concern and terror-stricken vigilance for the Government.

Tilak exposed with his intrepid pen the partiality of the Government towards the Moslems in the Hindu-Moslem riots. But more exasperating than that unmitigated exposure of their inward policy, was the agitation which Tilak began and carried on without intermission about protection against the famine. And it was but natural. But it is one thing to be defamed for partizanship as between two communities; it is quite another to be seriously charged with the offence of negligence of duty in the famine-conditions resulting in deaths by thousands. The criticisms of the Government by Tilak were found more offensive for the persistent

demand which he made for the remission and suspension of land revenue. The *Times* was not slow to give the just claim of the people the seditious-looking name of a "No-rent campaign". Apparently this was taken to be an imitation of the Irish Land League, and from that perspective Tilak stood before the Government as an Indian edition of the Irish leader, Parnell.

The Government's feelings against Tilak must have been further roused by the crescendo of admiration for Tilak in the public mind. He was elected to the local Municipality. He received respect in the University circles. He was sent up to the Legislative Council. Everywhere his popularity waxed rapidly and with its rise he grew a rankling eye-sore to the Government. As a matter of fact, it was feared that Tilak would be prosecuted in the 1896 agitation against the famine-policy of the Government. Perhaps the Government was conscious of its weaknesses in that respect and could not dare to cast its exiguous net to catch so enormous and powerful a whale. That oportunity therefore had passed by. Agitation against the Government's plague-policy followed. Tilak and the Government came into constant clash, and the discontent of the people became violent, reflecting itself through the increasingly fierce criticism of the Govern-

ment offered by the *Kesari*. But even in that case, the still small voice which might be supposed to be abiding in the bodiless bureaucracy too must have whispered into its ears the mistakes of the Government and the consequent intolerable sufferings of the people. That occasion too could not thus be availed of with much hope of success to prosecute Tilak.

Those facts, however, and this posture of affairs were conspiring to hasten Tilak's arrest and imprisonment. The signal for it was given by the murder of Rand on the night of 22nd June. Nor was Tilak taken by anxious surprise; for he had a clear political vision to foresee that the movements that he had carried on during the past half a dozen years might fling him into the clutches of the Government any time. In the year 1896, a forecast was ventured by some one that a storm was brewing for Tilak and that it would soon be manifest. That was undoubtedly a prediction. It came true two or three years afterwards, in a way which must have surprised even the prophetic writer who had hazarded the prophecy in the paper. The last event that precipitated the arrest of Tilak was, however, altogether unimagined. The murder of Rand was committed by Chafekar brothers as a revenge for the repression of the people practised by him in the plague; and Tilak was prosecuted for sedition on account of the

publication of his speeches in the *Kesari* delivered during the Shivaji festival. The two events were as different from each other as chalk from cheese. But so it was that, though they had no kind of direct relation or sequence with each other, the former event settled matters for Tilak. Whoever may fire the gun it strikes him alone who happens to fall straight within its range. The murder of Rand ignited the match, but Tilak, the popular tribune that he was, fell a magnificent victim as he stood in the van of the whole popular indignation against the Government, and heroically bore the brunt of all the public movements against the high-handed policy pursued by the Government in various respects!

It could not be doubted that the regime of Rand was a long roll of horrible repression of the people and that, as a consequence, it had created and piled up into the public mind a deep and burning discontent with it. Nevertheless, as in all other phenomena of this world, the ebb-tide set in and the people were resuming the normal tenor of their life. With the subsidence of the plague, popular resentment began to wane. As soon as there appear in nature signs of the awakening dawn, the sleeping birds rise and chirp for very joy in their nests that after all the night is on the point of vanishing; and though it is always the darkest before the dawn, brightness is

bound soon to follow. The people of Poona were in a much similar mood. That changing attitude of the public was helped by the alleviation of distress caused by the famine. New burning topics had arisen which were charged with a new kind of inspiration and which attracted the people's attention from the more distressing ones to them. That is to say, the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign and the movement of the Shivaji memorial had come to occupy the place in the public mind vacated happily by the plague and the famine. The *Kesari* adopted a very conciliatory attitude towards the Jubilee and acclaimed the auspicious ceremony with unwonted rejoicings. The *Kesari* proposed that beyond calling to mind the generous proclamation of 1858, none should mar the beauty and harmony of the august royal ceremony by importing any inconvenient and discordant strains. In three successive issues of the paper Tilak followed that very statesman-like policy and extolled the good fortune and the meritorious career of the Queen; and appreciatively mentioned the expansion of the British Empire in Her Majesty's reign and the liberalising constitutional administration as the trophies of Her Majesty.

The second subject which dominated the public thought then was the Shivaji memorial. In that year's Shivaji

birth-anniversary, many educated persons took enthusiastic part and Tilak did not feel any hesitation in publicly expressing the hope that the celebration of the anniversary festivities would certainly be more systematic and purposive, if the educated classes continued their interest in its observance. In Poona itself the birth-anniversary was observed from the 12th of June. Before that the Poona people used to keep the day of Shivaji's coronation-ceremony alone. Over the background of the plague-regime that year's festival appeared the more full of splendour and joy. In honour of that new function Prof. S. M. Paranjpe delivered a *puran* with two sayings from the Mahabharat as his texts. The meaning of them was that 'discontent was the root of good' and that 'contentment was the blight of the root.' Prof. Jinsivale in his learned discourse on Shivaji, convinced the public that in that hero the people had got a valiant protagonist of the mother-country and Hinduism. In connection with the ceremony Professor Bhanu delivered an address under the presidentship of Tilak on the assassination of Afzul Khan. The lecturer defended Shivaji against the charge of murder. Prof. Jinsivale also illustrated Afzul Khan's murder by the like doings of the historic empire-builders, Napolean Bonaparte and Julius Cæsar. He boldly declared that, as

historians had fully acquitted them, they ought to exculpate the founder of the Mahratta empire also. In his closing speech Tilak wound up the proceedings of the anniversary-day by distilling out before the audience the inner patriotic motive of that deed and made a feeling appeal to the public to assemble at least for a day during the 364 of the whole year to pay their humblest tributes to the memory of that glorious nation-builder. A detailed report of all those various functions in the Shivaji anniversary appeared in the *Kesari* as a matter of course. Besides that, the *Kesari* had also taken editorial notice of those celebrations. In the issue of the 15th of June a poem was published in the columns of the *Kesari* with the pseudonym of 'Bhavani Tarvar' (Shivaji's sword) in which the writer had upheld hero-worship and reminded the readers of contemporary political injustice and ills from which people had been suffering.

The enemies of Tilak instantly found what they had been hunting for. One of them under the assumed name of 'Justice' wrote a letter to the *Times of India* intimating, from quotations from the *Kesari* distorted from their context, that Tilak was propagating sedition on the sly. The writer drew with a large hand from the report of the festival in the *Kesari* and the leaderettes

thereon, translating them all in the spirit of an extra-loyal literary prodigal. Really speaking, the controversy about Afzul Khan's murder was not at all new. It was not also for the first time that Tilak had taken prominent part in that historical controversy. If, therefore, he was not seditious then, he could not be accused of sedition at that moment. But within a week from the public revival of that controversy, the murder of Rand was perpetrated during the night of 22nd June, when after the Government-house dinner in honour of the Jubilee he was returning home. The actual murder could easily be shown to be reflexively influenced, by the open discussion of a murder of great historical significance.

That murder was a veritable bomb-shell over Poona. The news of it spread throughout the city before the 23rd had dawned, and people were dumb-founded and struck with terror and dismay. The secret police became tremulously active everywhere in the whole city. Streets were blockaded and suspected houses were searched. The correspondents of the Anglo-Indian newspapers were found to be as busy as bees, and quite a flood of information, false and true, was poured into the ears of the readers. Those anti-Indian papers did not forbear to artfully suggest a criminal conspiracy working subterraneously behind that murder. Whether the Government be-

lieved in the story or not, we are not in the know. But it held the whole of the city responsible for that murder and surrendered Poona into the control of the punitive police. A public meeting to protest against that horrifying deed would perhaps have gone a little way in mollifying the angry suspicions of the government against Poona in general. But no meeting of the kind was in contemplation till the 28th of June, when the then Collector of Poona, Mr. Lamb, himself took the initiative and called a public meeting in the Municipal Technical School building. He delivered, in the meeting, an offensive speech in which he tried to convince the audience of the existence of a conspiracy. He threatened to take severe steps, if the offender or offenders were not found out and given over by the citizens of Poona. He charged Tilak and the *Kesari* indirectly with sedition and constantly referred to the lectures given in the course of the Shivaji festival only a week before the murder.

Tilak had, of course, felt that the murder of Rand was sure to open the floodgates of difficulties upon him. But he was not in the least daunted by any kind of disaster that was sure to fall upon him. In the issues of the *Kesari* that were published after the murder, there was not a single sign of any fearful or trembling reservation in the criticism of the Government's policy.

In fact, in the very issue of the 6th of July, Tilak thundered out an article with the interrogatory head-line: "Is the Government's head on their shoulders?" in which he offered scathing criticism on the punitive police thrust upon Poona. He compared the Government to an elephant maddened with intoxication, pounding to dust whatever came in his way. He denied the existence of any conspiracy behind that murder in a self-confident spirit. He boldly asserted that the price of Rs. 20,000 offered for the head of the culprit was quite a sufficient inducement for the search and that for the purpose, it was absolutely unnecesary to subject people to the tyrannizing rule of the extra police. In the issue of the 13th of July, Tilak wrote another leader in the *Kesari*, which was equally spirited with the head-line: "To rule was not to take revenge." Though, after the meeting invited by the Collector, a so-called public meeting of the citizens of Poona was held under the presidentship of Dr. Bhandarkar, to condemn the murder, it wore what could not but be described as a funereal appearance. Public opinion was expressed not by this rump of a meeting but by the opinions and sentiments that found vent in the leaders and leaderettes of the *Kesari*. The Government's policy of repression was not affected, in the least degree, by the powerful writings of Tilak. Gradually, Poona

passed fully into the grip of that policy. The question of arresting Tilak was profoundly fermenting in the mind of the Government. And Tilak, too, on his part, was not entirely innocent of the knowledge of the visible, portentous indications of the inward agitation that was at work. As the Government was preparing for his arrest in a secret way, he was busy making ready for the strong defence that he was to make of his conduct. In the issue of the *Kesari* of the 20th of July, he commenced a series of articles on the meaning of 'sedition'. And as Fate would have it, those very articles constituted a rich material for his remarkable defence in the Court.

Tilak went to Bombay on the 27th. The reason of his going there was naturally intimately connected with the investigation of the murder and the off-shoots of that incident. As soon as the news of the violent happening was cabled to London, a variety of views was expressed by the Anglo-Indians, the Europeans and the press over there. The views were both sympathetic and unsympathetic or semi-sympathetic and semi-unsympathetic according to the temper of their authors. *The Daily Chronicle* fearlessly charged the Government with loss of its head, because it had foisted punitive police on Poona. The imagination of the *London Times* saw that the public of Poona who knew before-hand of the project of the

murder greatly rejoiced at its fulfilment. Some fastened the whole responsibility on native newspapers and some affirmed it to be the consequence of interference by the Government in the people's religious customs. Crawford held up the Brahmin class of Poona to be the chief instigator and Bhownagri hung the event round the neck of the Indian National Congress. At that time G. K. Gokhale was in England and as an Indian, well-acquainted with the position of things in India, was interviewed by a representative of the *Manchester Guardian* with a view to shed further light on the deeply dark episode. Gokhale, in his replies to the queries of the press-correspondent, expressed his view that the murder must have been caused by the extreme repression of the plague committee in Poona. He further informed the interviewer that women were dragged into the streets by soldiers and other plague-authorities and their modesty was sometimes brutally outraged.

The publication of those striking views of Gokhale set the British public feeling aflame. A volley of questions was fired in the Parliament and numerous cablegrams were exchanged between Bombay and London. On the assurance of the Government of Bombay, the Secretary of State for India declared Gokhale's statements as

a tissue of rank and unrelieved lies. By-the-by, we might say here that there was a little exaggeration in the statements of Gokhale. In relying on the information gathered from private sources, he suffered the same fate which some years ago Tilak and Agarkar met in the Kolhapur case. But let that apart. Just as Gokhale erred on one side of hyperbole in his description, so the Government erred on the other side in unashamedly proclaiming that in the plague-regime there was not even the ghost of any kind of repression or violence or outrage on the men and the women of Poona city. It was not in the nature of Tilak to allow this stark falsehood to stalk abroad as decent truth; and he was convinced of the blackness of the doings of the Government so unshakably that he was cogitating means to expose that falsehood before the public. In the issue of the 20th of July, he called for all sorts of complaints with respect to the plague-administration to be sent to the *Kesari*. In the week from the 20th to the 27th he collected such complaints and also other evidence of the repression practised by soldiers. He left for Bombay with a bagful of that information, with the purpose of starting a press-campaign against the Government by getting that material published in Bombay English papers like the *Champion*. Had Tilak been permitted to continue his endeavours of thus counter-

blasting the utterly untruthful assertions of the Government for a sufficient space of time, we are sure that, people could well have said of Tilak that he was busy doing such a remarkable service to Gokhale in the matter of proving the statements he had made as even Gokhale's friends and admirers were not so much as contemplating to render.

It was indeed a fortuitous combination of circumstances that, while Tilak was engaged in that work, the Bombay Government's mind was absorbed in laying out plans for arresting and prosecuting him. On the 27th of July a suit was filed under section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code against Tilak before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, and warrants for arrest and search were issued. The signing of the warrants was kept secret; and though Tilak was known to be in Bombay it was not served on him till late at night on that day. Tilak was staying as usual with his trusted friend, D. A. Khare, in Girgaum. Hardly had those two companions taken their food at night and had been engaged in post-prandial conversation, when, like a thief in the night a European Police Officer appeared on the scene and showed the warrant to Tilak. In the twinkling of an eye, with the vision of an archangel he visualized the whole affair. The equanimity of his mind was not disturbed even a little; and like a man going to sleep in his bedroom or starting on a

journey to visit a familiar friend of his, he ordered his servant to arrange his kit. With the Sergeant he took his seat in the carriage which took them straight to the office of the Police Commissioner where Tilak was locked up in a well-guarded cell. Khare almost simultaneously went to the Chief Presidency Magistrate to see whether Tilak could be got released on bail. But in that case, only the expected happened. Bail was of course refused. Tilak felt so completely unperturbed and such was his self-control that when, at about midnight, Khare knocked at the doors of the room in which Tilak was, he was found snoring as if nothing unusual had happened. Tilak himself had no hopes of bail being granted. He instructed Khare to do what he thought best and bade him good night.

On the 28th the case against Tilak opened before Mr. Slater for preliminary investigation. The application for bail was again refused and even the appeal in the High Court against that refusal was dismissed by Justices Parsons and Ranade on the ground that the case was to begin in the Presidency Magistrate's Court only two days afterwards. On the 31st Tilak was examined. In the course of the examination he was put numerous trifling questions to which he sternly replied that he was the editor, owner and publisher, rolled into one, of everything

connected with the *Kesari*. The case was committed to the sessions. Barrister Davar (who as a judge of the High Court afterwards sentenced Tilak to 6 years' transportation in 1908) bitterly complained in the Court against the confiscation of the registers of the subscribers of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, by the force of search-warrants. Undauntedly he told the Court that though the *Kesari* was prosecuted, it would not suspend publication and warned it that, if those papers were not duly returned, the Government would be charged with unlawful conduct and malicious vindictiveness. That boldness of the Barrister had an instantaneous effect and the papers in question were duly handed over to the solicitor of Tilak.

After the case was committed to the sessions, Barrister Davar made an application again for the grant of bail on the 4th of August. He urged with great force of argument on the Court the necessity of granting the application. He pleaded that, to keep Tilak imprisoned was to put difficulties in the way of preparation of his defence. Justice Badruddin Tayyabji was convinced immediately and himself asked what amount of security the accused was willing to give. Barrister Davar replied on the spur of the moment that any surety demanded by the Court would be given. The Court at last directed that two securities

worth Rs. 25,000 each and a personal surety of Rs. 50,000 should be given. Justice Tayyabji was obviously moved to comply with the request of Barrister Davar for bail by his sense of straightforward judiciousness. Sedition, if proved, was undoubtedly held to be a capital crime against the Government; but all the same it was not as criminal as a murder or an act of incendiarism. As soon as the application for bail was granted by the Court there arose in it a resonant chorus of applause; and overflowing the Court-room it was echoed and re-echoed by the large concourse of the people that had assembled outside. Tilak was released at night on the 4th of August accordingly.

Barrister Davar had of course very nearly defied the Court to demand any amount of security. The sum asked for by the Court was indeed staggering and men with as much boldness as that manifested by the counsel were required to vindicate his challenge. Those two men were Mr. Y. V. Nene and Shet Dwarkadas Dharamsi. It could be realized how difficult it must have been for those two people to volunteer security for Tilak to whom even the High Court presided over by Justices Parsons and Ranade were afraid to grant bail. People, however, drew their own inferences from those two facts, one of the refusal and the other of the grant of the bail-application. They

noticed the contrast between Justices Tayyabji and Ranade. The Mohammedans of Bombay twittingly remarked that, while a Brahmin Judge had not thought fit to be kind to a Brahmin accused, a Mohammedan Judge had grit and spirit enough to release him on bail. From the strict judicial point of view, the conduct of Justice Ranade might perhaps be sought to be justified by his partizans. It was true that in extenuation of his action it could be pleaded that when the application for bail was made before him, Tilak's case was not committed to the sessions, while on the contrary when Justice Tayyabji directed Tilak's release on bail, the case was so committed and therefore had fallen unexceptionably within the purview of the High Court. But the man in the street whose untaught instinct often rings truer metal than the tutored wisdom of an educated man, was naturally likely to appreciate the broad-mindedness of Justice Tayyabji and *ipso facto* to condemn the ultra-legality and short-sightedness of Ranade. As the liberal attitude of Justice Tayyabji must elicit admiration from the public, so must the rare courage and the spirit of sacrifice magnificently exhibited by Mr. Nene. Before offering to stand surety in the case, Mr. Nene was not much known to Tilak. The accident that brought him into such obliging acquaintance with Tilak sowed the seeds of a friend

ship that, in the years that followed, flowered most luxuriantly and bore fruits that outlasted Tilak himself.

Like Mr. Nene, Khare also was of the greatest service to Tilak, not only in that case, but nearly in other vicissitudes of his political life. We have already seen in the preliminary chapters that Tilak was to Khare as Damon was to Pythias, ever since his boyhood. That feeling of friendship grew with their growth and strengthened with their strength. But it did not decay with the decline of their lives; on the contrary, it ripened into an astonishingly hearty love as between two brothers. Whenever Tilak went to Bombay, he used to reside with Khare. Both of them passed their days in the most enjoyable manner at Sinhgad under one and the same roof. Differences of opinion arose between those two friends; but they were never allowed to cast their lurid and shadowy cloud on the feeling of close friendship. In fact, in India they might be described as two ideal friends in private life though, of course, they differed politically in their views on the Congress policy, the Hindu-Muslim riots and other questions. Among other persons of Bombay who helped Tilak in that case, must be mentioned Mr. M. R. Bodas, Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, Advocate Setlur and Barrister Deshpande. Among the Poona people, Mr. V. G. Joshi assisted Tilak in

facing the trial with the earnestness of a real companion.

Tilak came to Poona after his release on bail. As soon as he reached Poona, he began to prepare his defence in the sedition case. The chief difficulty in that respect was the question of expenses required to conduct the case through the Court in a proper manner. In his after-life, Tilak did not much feel the want of money for meeting his legal difficulties arising in the course both of his public and private life. For the Chirol case, the people collected a huge fund and endowed it for the purpose of his defence in it. In the vast and ramifying case of Tai Maharaj which dragged on nearly for a whole generation, he did incur an expenditure to the amount of more than Rs. 50,000. But the disbursement of that sum having been spread over a long term of years, he could pay out of the usual proceeds from his two papers. In 1897, however, he was not so favourably situated. The papers could make the two ends meet with very great difficulty and the balance that remained went towards the liquidation of the debt on the papers. We have already referred to the fact that he could hardly draw a single pice from the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* office for his domestic purposes. He had started the law-class as a source of income for the ordinary wants of his family. Unfortunately, the total

proceeds of that class also were not free for Tilak's private expenses, because even the class was burdened with the debts due to the Latur mill which ate away a substantial portion from the receipts of the class. It was unthinkable under those circumstances to hope for any financial assistance from those sources for engaging renowned Barristers and pleaders to lead the defence in the High Court. Tilak's friends had foreseen the crucial difficulty of finance and, before his release, had advertised for public subscription in aid of the case fund.

Along with the *Kesari*, other Marathi papers in Maharashtra had been prosecuted for the same offence. Broadly speaking, it was a case not individually against the *Kesari* or Tilak but against the whole public of India. It could be pointedly described as the Imperator *versus* the Indian public. That being the real nature of the case, the idea of raising a public fund rapidly caught on. The enthusiasm created by the case travelled beyond the frontiers of Maharashtra and invaded Bengal. Messrs Shishir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh, editors of the *Amrit-Bazar Patrika*, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and many other leaders of Bengal worked up that scheme in their province and patriotically contributed their own provincial quota to the defence fund. Anyhow, at least in the matter of politics, there appeared to be

existing between Bengal and Bombay a kind of wonderful co-operation. That co-operation became remarkably manifest in the Swadeshi movement of 1905. In 1897, Tilak in particular and Maharashtra in general had fallen under the wrath of the ruling authorities. Bengal of its own accord forgot its internal differences, if at all there were differences in those days of a bitterly pronounced character of the present type, ran under the stimulus of patriotism to help its brother-province in distress. In 1905, the tables were turned. Bengal was subjected to a very cruel insult to the sense of nationalism of the Bengalis and naturally this gratuitous offence had inflamed the mind of Bengal against the British Government. Maharashtra, in that predicament of Bengal, willingly co-operated with it in adapting and fully exploiting for national purposes the movement of Swadeshi and Boycott, launched first by Bengal with a view to compel the forcible partition of Bengal to be rescinded by the Government. But more of it at the proper time.

Though thus the defence fund was being collected, Tilak felt that it would not be wholly prudent to wait till the sum was made up. He wanted at once to go to Bombay with a sum of about Rs. 2,000 as pocket expenses for the case. Poona did not subscribe largely to this fund. One of Tilak's sure friends in this respect, Mr. Natu, was confined

in jail. He had, therefore, through his other friend, Mr. Joshi, to put together a small sum by borrowing from numerous people. With great difficulty a fairly large amount was made up, and Tilak decided to leave for Bombay. Conviction and sentence in that case being considered to be a foregone conclusion, Tilak thought it wise to make a will. That occasion in his life was said to be one of the few most touching scenes in his life. While drafting the will, Tilak was visibly moved to tears. He dictated and his nephew, Mr. Vidwans, took down the words of the will. When Tilak was seen to be so overcome with grief, the writer also was suffused with tears. Both of them were obviously overwhelmed with the unbearable feeling not of the result of the case, but of their future financial state. The only source of income to Tilak in those days was the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. The papers were not then wholly out of debt. There dawned again the fear of a debacle in their sales by the imprisonment of Tilak, which must necessarily tell on the income. The law-class was to be closed. The debt of the Latur mill was being paid in instalments with interest. Thus, while the side of receipts was likely to shrink, that of disbursements was sure to swell on account of the heavy costs of the case. And the worst of the situation would be the apprehended and possible

demise of Tilak in jail. All those numerous saddening thoughts concentrated in their minds when Tilak prepared to dictate the will and Mr. Vidwans took up the pen to dip it in ink for writing. That was, however, as usual a moment's affair. The tide of grief soon receded and Tilak, recovering his generally imperturbable and balanced coldness of reason, finished the writing and provided for the management of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* in the will by the nomination of some arbitrators from among his close friends.

The High Court session was to begin on the 6th of September in which the Tilak case was to be heard. But some people tried to get it postponed if possible. Mr. Bruin was prominent among them. Long before the case he was deputed to Poona, as a special officer to investigate the Rand murder. He was a very clever and bright officer, with simple and engaging manners. He knew Marathi enough to speak familiarly with even an ordinary man. More than any other officer of the Government, he was conversant with the real Indian temperament. With all that equipment he started the enquiry. He was very nearly persuaded that neither Tilak nor the Natu brothers who were detained in jail, could have any part or lot in the commission of the crime which he was appointed to investigate. As a matter of fact, Tilak's

absence from Poona, would have helped the work of tracing the murder to its sources. But anyhow Mr. Bruin had a shrewd, long-eyed and hopeful suspicion that, as it was not possible for Tilak to approve of such crimes and as he would, so far as possible, try to avoid unnecessary harassment to the public of Poona, he would rather be a help than a hindrance in successfully accomplishing his task.

Mr. Bruin's anticipation, however, proved treacherous to him. While Tilak was in Poona he used to spend hours together in talking with him on all sorts of topics. Those conversations assumed the character of an intensely interesting and exceedingly dexterous sword-play between two astute intellects of a high order. Each knew full well the sly intentions of the other; each freely exercised his masterful talent to gain upon the other. Being a thorough gentleman in behaviour, it was not in Tilak to say nay to Mr. Bruin who came of his own accord to see him. The conversation between them dealt with some covert and half-covert and overt and half-overt acts and plans and lasted without interruption for a long time. Each one was careful not to drop out any hint likely to be dangerous to his interest and was vigilant to take the cue from any casual or unwary statement or word that would unconsciously fall from the lips of the

adversary. Mr. Bruin obviously wanted to learn something from Tilak about the happening of the murder. On the other hand, Tilak sought from Mr. Bruin at least a slight hint as to the Government's policy with respect to the case against the *Kesari*, or with respect to any further arrests in that connection. That pitched battle of wits seemed to have no end and hence Mr. Bruin one day directly put it to Tilak why he should not assist the Government in finding out the culprit when it was just possible for him to know the name of the murderer. Tilak's reply to that somewhat blunt and impudent question was characteristic of his presence of mind and boldness of spirit. He said, in substance, "Well, I don't think that I can help you in this matter. None is expected to give me information. But, Mr. Bruin, you should be rest assured that even if I come to have such information, I will never tell it to you. Though I believe that an offender should be punished adequately, never will I agree to be anybody's spy and never will I betray anyone in the world. Certainly, I will not put obstacles in your path. I resent Mr. Lamb's allegation that the murder is a blot upon Poona. Yet I do not deny that the offender, if and when found, should be sentenced according to the dictates of law."

Those words of Tilak cast a thick cloud

of despair over Mr. Bruin's mind. His side-efforts however, showed signs of better success. Mr. Bruin was convinced, in the course of the investigation that, though politically well-designed, the case against Tilak could not fix any responsibility for murder on his head. He came to have an uncommonly high regard for Tilak and he began to feel that the case against him should even then be postponed, so that, after the investigation had completely exonerated Tilak from the affair, the Court would find it necessary to pass a light punishment on him. But Tilak wished that the case should be settled, once and for all, as early as possible. He did not therefore comply with Mr. Bruin's request to submit a sick certificate and to get his case adjourned. Probably he did not like suspense which was never calculated to end in the withdrawal of the case.

At last the hearing of the case commenced on the 8th of September. Barristers Pu and Garth had been specially sent by Tilak's Bengali friends for conducting his case. Along with them, another Barrister, Mr. J. Chaudhary, also had gone down to Bombay, voluntarily to see if he could be of any service to Tilak. After going to Bombay, Tilak had only about a fortnight to explain the whole case to the Barristers, to arrange papers relating to

the case, to collect articles to be put forth as evidence and to translate them into English. Some friends from Bombay also gave him a good deal of assistance in finishing that work. For himself Tilak felt heartened by good wishes which he received in abundance from the public at large who had realized the wide significance of the case and who had therefore felt bound in duty to extend their hand of help to him. The more educated people sent commentaries on the sections of the Penal Code and on portions from Tilak's articles; others approached him with their happy predictions and furnished him with magic incantations and amulets. In an issue of the *Kesari* Tilak thanked all those disinterested well-wishers and also made arrangements for the publication of the *Kesari* in Bombay everyday during the continuance of the case, to supply full and fresh news of the day-to-day proceedings in the Court to those sympathisers.

The selection of a Judge to preside over the criminal session of the High Court is verily a gamble. By chance Tilak's case came to be tried by Justice Strachey who was elevated to the honour, probably as the son of a distinguished father. At that time there were two Indian Judges in the High Court. When, excluding those two, Justice Strachey was chosen to hear Tilak's

case, people did not believe it to be a good omen. The panel of the jury also consisting of five Englishmen, one Jew, one Parsee and two Deccani gentlemen was considered by the people to be more ominous than the appointment of the Judge. With that set of a Judge and jury the trial began on the 8th of September exactly at 12 o'clock. Tilak denied the charge read out to him by the Court; and after that the Advocate General Mr. Lang explained the charge against the accused. He read copious extracts from the *Kesari*, critically examined them before the Court and closed his address. Barrister Pu requested the Court to permit the accused to sit beside him and not far away from him in the dock. The permission was granted and Tilak took his seat just behind his Barrister to help him constantly in putting questions to the prosecution, taking objections where necessary and giving the real intended meanings of the Marathi words that figured prominently in the proceedings.

The first point that was raised by Barrister Pu was that the prosecution of Tilak was not properly sanctioned by the Government, because the exact articles against which objection was taken were not specified, even though in a case under section 124 A of I.P.C. the particular writings must be mentioned. The Advocate General, however, pleaded that a written sanction was not needed and

that mere consent was sufficient to launch the prosecution. Justice Strachey concurred with the Advocate General and ruled out the objection, holding that the mere approval of the Government satisfied the purposes of law.

Then began the examination of the Oriental Translator. In the course of it, the denotations and connotations of the words in Tilak's articles and their translations were minutely discussed. The comic feature of it all appeared to be that, while the language under discussion was Marathi, those who conducted the debate and the analysis of the different shades of the meanings of Marathi words were, three of them Europeans and one Muhammadan, that is to say, all of them the least acquainted with the rules of the language. The truth of the words was on occasions shattered to pieces, often to the amusement of the Marathi-knowing people and many a time was it chloroformed like a patient in an operation-theatre. Rules of grammar were also torn to tatters and phrases and sayings were riddled with a nonchalance which profound ignorance, emboldened by profound prejudice, alone could induce. There were five or six other prosecution witnesses also, all of whom were brought in to establish certain points in the case. Instead of leading his own evidence in the Court by means of his witnesses, the wiser and more diplomatic method of putting

together his own evidence by means of a skilful cross-examination was adopted by Tilak and his counsels. For example, out of the mouth of a certain witness Barrister Pu got the reply that in the plague-hospital started by Tilak all kinds of people, not excluding the depressed classes, were promiscuously admitted, with a view to soften the prepossession of Tilak's opponents that he was only a hard-boiled Poona Brahmin. After the cross-examination Justice Strachey called up Tilak and asked him to explain certain words and their grammatical relationships. That was indeed a unique privilege given to Tilak. Naturally, he exploited it to the fullest possible degree and made Justice Strachey understand and appreciate the real intrinsic force and contents of the words and sentences used by him.

It was thickly rumoured at the time that the services of Dr. Bhandarkar were to be requisitioned for elucidation of some grammatical points and translation of certain words. He had been asked to sit in the building of the University of Bombay just beside the High Court, in waiting for being called when necessary. On the whole, however, it was well that he was not brought into the High Court. Since the days of the Age of Consent bill controversy, they were not on good terms. Nor could it be forgotten, though perhaps forgiven, that Dr. Bhandar-

kar was responsible for sending a telegram to the *Times of India* connecting Tilak in the fracas that took place in the Krida Bhuvan. Of course, had he been called into the Court, people would have witnessed an excellent fight between two intellectual giants—one possessed of a studied profound education and the other gifted with a kind of inspired but infallible intuition. But, for some unknown reason, Dr. Bhandarkar was not invited and the case came to a conclusion without that scene.

On the 11th of September, Advocate General Lang summarized the whole prosecution case and detailed his arguments. He was a man of a tranquil temperament and his argument was expressive of that quality. His speech to the High Court might thus be put in a nutshell: "It is not necessary to prove that the writings of the *Kesari* incited a particular man to commit violence or spread sedition in his mind. It is enough if there is only a possibility of it. If a particular piece of writing is calculated to create in the reader's mind a desire to try for the overthrow of the Government, it may fall under the category of sedition. Tilak is an honourable gentleman, a Fellow of the Bombay University and a Member of the Legislative Council to boot. The circulation of the *Kesari* is about 7000 copies In the city of Bombay itself, so many as 900

copies are disposed of. Thus, the paper is a weighty and influential journal, sure to affect the people's minds. The *Kesari* characterises the Government as foreign. It asserts that the people are being ground down under tyranny. Though, in itself, the Shivaji festival may be unexceptionable, it has been given a political colour and has been used as an instrument to rouse the public mind to a feeling of disaffection against the Government. We ought not to consider the meanings of isolated words in the articles of the accused. The Court has to consider the total effect of such writings. It is one thing to say that India is poor. But the whole aspect of it is transformed when reference is made to Shivaji in such matters or to the murder of Afzal Khan. The duty of remaining discontented is preached without any disguise. All the writings of Tilak thus clearly tend towards the creation of a feeling of resentment against the powers that be."

After Advocate General Lang's address Barrister Pu spoke on behalf of Tilak. His speech also was like the peaceful flow of a calm river. Had there been Mr. Branson on one side and Mr. Norton on the other, there would certainly have been such a battle of the Barristers as would have astonished all persons by its forensic flashes. The fight between Mr. Lang and Mr. Pu was comparatively a tame affair, though none the less charm-

ing in its own way. Spirits were not roused on either side or tempers lost ; and no bullets were fired, much less cannon shot. The weapons were the weapons of non-violence and the wrestlers were the wrestlers of equable tempers and balance of mind. At the outset, Barrister Pu emphasised the fact that the circumstances were against Tilak. But for the murder of Rand, Tilak would not at all have been hauled up before the Court. If he had been prosecuted in Poona, the Judge and the jury could at least have understood Marathi, while none of them in Bombay seemed to have even a nodding acquaintance with that language. The Government had not produced witnesses that would most probably be helpful for Tilak's defence. Most of the articles which formed the subject-matter of Tilak's alleged offence were in the form of poetry. Of course, in poetry the diction used was metaphorical and did not lend itself to extraordinarily strict, legal and scientific analysis. As to the Shivaji festival, Barrister Pu tickled some of the jurors by adverting to the festivities in memory of Robert Bruce and Willam Wallace. When people were fired with the enthusiasm of such national festivities they often used forcible language and even demanded Home Rule. The controversy about Afzal Khan's murder was in the press even before Rand's murder and therefore by no stretch of imagination could

that murder be related to the Afzal Khan murder.

If the Government did really believe Tilak to be guilty of the abetment of murder, they ought to have openly charged him under the murder-section of the Penal Code. The very fact that he had not been so charged but prosecuted under the more general section 124 A, showed the weakness of the Government's case. Besides, in the Shivaji festival persons of two different parties like Mr. Bhanu and Tilak could stand together on one and the same platform. Surely, two parties so directly opposed to each other could not have joined in the festival, had it been started with the intention of propagating the cult of murder. Sedition whether in England or in India ought to have one invariable meaning and interpretation. What was sauce for the goose must be sauce for the gander also, and, *per contra*, what was poison to one, ought, in equal measure, be poison to the other. A spicy description of the thousand and one grievances of the subjects, though given with the purpose of creating discontent in the public mind, should not be unreservedly condemned as sedition. An isolated murder like that of Rand was incapable of ruining the British Empire or shaking it to its foundations. The articles written by Tilak in connection with the Jubilee of Her Majesty

the Queen clearly indicated his loyalty to the Crown as much as they showed his patriotic instincts. There was no reason at all why Tilak should have any personal grievance against Lord Sandhurst, the Governor of Bombay. If Tilak had been bent upon revolution, undoubtedly no opportunity was more propitious than the one offered by the *zulum* practised by the Government when the plague ran high and when people's minds could have been roused to the necessary pitch without great difficulty. But Tilak instead of using that favourable occasion, started and conducted a plague-hospital. Towards the close of his address in that strain to the jury, Barrister Pu narrated the history of the section 124A and discussed the interpretation of the word 'disaffection.'

On the next day, that is, on the 14th of September, Justice Strachey had his summing-up. For nearly 5 hours the Judge dealt with the case and the evidence. In his address, the Judge admitted that there was no evidence to prove any connection between Tilak's articles and Rand's murder. The Advocate General with all his advocacy could not establish any kinship between the two. The Judge, however, took for granted the seditious motive of Tilak in penning the articles in question. Every sentence in every objectionable article before the Court was taken by him to have its roots deeply planted

in the hatred of the Government. He thought that sedition did not require the readiness to overthrow the Government nor even the idea of it. It was enough if a man did not simply possess a feeling of affection for the Government. Absence of affection, the Judge held forth, amounted to presence of hatred against the Government in a man's mind. That construction put on the word 'disaffection' by Justice Strachey has now been completely repudiated by the Government, by the judgments of the High Courts and by the behaviour of the people. It is held to be ante-diluvian. But perhaps like a surgeon who rises to eminence in his profession over the stepping-stones of the victims to his instruments, Judges also appear to acquire a higher and higher skill in the dispensation of justice at the cost of several unjustly sentenced accused persons. Let that, however, be. At five o'clock on that day the jury retired and came back after three quarters of an hour. Six of the jurors found Tilak guilty and three not guilty. The Judge accepted the majority verdict. The Clerk of the Crown at once asked Tilak to have his final say before the judgment. Tilak plainly gave the Court to understand that he had not written the articles in a spirit of hatred against the Government, nor had he imagined that their effect would have been sedition. He complained that authoritative persons

were not consulted in fixing the meaning of the terms used by him. The Judge of course was not affected by such statements from Tilak and expressed his conviction that the articles had been deliberately written to sow the seeds of disloyalty in the public mind. At about 6-30 in the evening, Justice Strachey sentenced Tilak to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment.

Appeal against that sentence lay through the High Court to the Privy Council. Immediately after the pronouncement of the judgment, an application consisting of fourteen points was submitted to the High Court for obtaining permission to appeal to the Privy Council. It was considered by the full Bench of the High Court on the 24th of September. The Bench comprised Justices Farren, Candy and Strachey. The inclusion of Justice Strachey on the Bench was not a little strange. To speak the truth, he was a Judge in his own cause. Publius Syrus has warned lesser people that no one should be judge in his own cause; and Pascal also has advised that it is not permitted to the most equitable of men to be a judge in his own cause. But as it was, Justice Strachey was supposed to stand above such human limitations. Whatever it might be, he not only adorned the Bench but tried to bring Tilak's counsel Mr. Russel into a quandary by putting him certain artful questions. After the

speeches of Barrister Russel and Advocate General Lang, Justice Farren discussed the application. To his mind, appeal to the Privy Council was not permissible in all cases. It was to be allowed only if there was a grave failure of justice, which was not seen in that case. Though the High Court thus formally closed the door of an appeal, it was ultimately carried to the Privy Council as a special appeal.

We would break the current of the narrative here to look into the affairs of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* in the absence of Tilak. Till Tilak was actually sentenced to imprisonment, the papers were issued in his name. But as soon as he was sentenced, the printer and publisher of the papers refused to put his name as the printer and publisher, for fear of the Government's wrath. After the judgment was passed against Tilak, the papers, of course, could not be published with his name as the editor. But as to that, there was much less difficulty than as regards the arrangement of the press. For already since March of the year 1896, Mr. N. C. Kelkar had joined Tilak as his assistant; and towards the end of that year Mr. K. P. Khadilkar also came to throw in his lot with Tilak. Press arrangements were not ready at hand, and hence Mr. D. V. Vidwans was put to an amount of trouble and anxiety in order to see that printing was not suspended and if possi-

ble the weekly publications are not delayed. At last, the Vithal Press owned by a pensioner, Mr. Bhide, consented to print the two papers. The office of the papers was opened in the Vinchurkar's Wada in an improvised manner. It is of that so-called office that we hear descriptions from eye-witnesses of how Tilak after his return from jail and other editors also in his absence used to write articles for the *Kesarì* and the *Mahratta* either on a rolled-up bed or an empty oil-tin serving as a desk or a table. With this poor furniture, the papers were regularly issued without the least let or hindrance, except for a day's delay in the publication of the issue of the *Mahratta* of the 19th of that month. Thus, the hopes of those who wished the papers dead as also the fears of those who fore-boded ill to the papers in Tilak's absence were completely belied. And when, on Tuesday, the issue of the *Kesari* was out before the public as regularly as if nothing serious had happened in the interval, a special telegram was sent to the *Times of India* that Tilak's paper, far from ceasing to appear, had been published with the name of one LL. B. by name Mr. Kelkar, as its editor.

The work of lodging the appeal against the judgment of the High Court with the Privy Council had also to be done with equal expedition. With some of the papers relevant to the appeal Khare sailed for

England on the 2nd of October. He was soon followed by solicitor Kanga. On the 19th of November 1897, the hearing commenced in White Hall before Lord Chancellor Halsbury and three other Judges of the Privy Council. Barristers Asquith, Maine, and Umesh Chandra Banerjee were engaged on behalf of Tilak and they were assisted by Barristers Pu and Garth and also by Khare. It seemed somewhat ridiculous that a case which turned mainly on the interpretation of Marathi words and phrases should come to be decided on appeal by a Bench of Judges even more innocent of the Marathi language than the original High Court. Tilak's solicitors, however, had prepared the brief with the greatest exertions, so that everything in it looked as clear as crystal. Though Tilak's counsel, Mr. Asquith, was entirely ignorant of the Marathi language he could grasp fully well the meaning of the words, as though he was quite a friend to the language concerned. In the brief was set out the translation of the Marathi papers, the Marathi words written first, below them their pronunciation in English, then below that English synonyms for them and lastly the general meaning of the whole paragraph with commentaries where necessary. The Government also must have got ready such a carefully made brief. With the help of such briefs the Privy Council six thousand miles away

from India decided whether or not there was sedition involved in those statements!

While the appeal was being heard in London, earnest sympathy for Tilak was being increasingly felt and expressed in India. All native newspapers without exception censured the Government for imprisoning Tilak and congratulated him on the bold and unflinching stand he had made. As soon as the news of the punishment spread out of the precincts of the Court, a wave of discontent and indignation passed over the whole country. Even the untutored mill-hands fasted in protest and students in the colleges and schools wore the black mark, indicative of the deep sorrow they felt in their hearts. People had, of course, a very high regard for Tilak's sterling patriotism and profound learning, but obviously those were not the virtues which alone attracted such abounding sympathy for him. Attempts were made by the pro-Government agencies to induce Tilak to offer an apology. The indignant repudiation by Tilak of that most disgraceful proposal soon found a place in the journals of the day. By a strange irony of fate, the proud conduct of Tilak stood in a glaring contrast with the mealy-mouthed behaviour of G. K. Gokhale who tendered an abject apology to the Government as soon as he placed his foot on the Indian soil. The reply which Tilak addressed

to Motilal Ghosh, the then editor of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika,* was quite characteristic of the spirit which was Tilak's. He wrote, "I am not a kuchha reed." People in their minds put those two facts together and it was but human that they should have cherished such a feeling of sympathetic veneration towards Tilak. There were other reasons also which told in his favour. It was colourably suspected that the Moderate party of Poona which was inimical to Tilak, had a hidden hand in his arrest and imprisonment. This popular suspicion gained greater and greater strength, and at the same time deepened the people's sympathy for Tilak. The offender or offenders in the Rand-murder were also in the meantime traced and finally sent to meet their fate. The whole basis of the prosecution of Tilak was thus knocked to pieces and Tilak appeared before the public in the garb of an absolutely innocent man being persecuted in a vindictive spirit. In that way, all circumstances pointed favourably at Tilak and he became the one object of sympathy and respect in all truly patriotic hearts.

Mr. Asquith in his argument laid much stress on the interpretation of the article A of section 124 of the Indian Penal Code, the meaning of the word 'disaffection', the difference between strong political criticism and sedition and such other points.

He also tried to impress on the Privy Council that Tilak's appeal deserved to be more carefully and minutely gone into by the Judges of the Privy Council than any other case. Mr. Asquith was the rising star of the Liberal party of England at that time and, true to the instincts of that party and the spirit of an unsophisticated Liberal, he fought for Tilak's appeal being properly considered. But sooth to say, it appeared that the Privy Council had no desire to incur any responsibility by laying down an authoritative explanation of sedition. Judges, more often than not, are in the habit of secretly running away through the windows instead of marching straight and bold through the main gate, after throwing it open themselves for the benefit of their followers. Perhaps that itch for diplomatic avoidance or scatheless escape from inconvenient or impossible situations, might be due to the extreme and, in some cases, even insurmountable difficulties of dispensing the most even-handed justice to the two parties concerned. After all, the hand that holds the beam of the balance is human. Whatever the reason may be, the fact is noticed by many. The result in Tilak's appeal was finally declared and it was dismissed on the ground that there was no sufficient cause for the Privy Council to interfere in the matter. The dismissal and also the judgment of Justice Strachey were severe-

ly condemned by the public opinion. But not a single day of Tilak's imprisonment could be lessened by any of the sincere or persistent endeavours of Tilak's friends and pleaders. In announcing the judgment of the Privy Council, the *Kesari* declared that the unblushing refusal of the Privy Council to go into the Tilak case had destroyed the confidence of the Indian public in the British justice.

Before closing this chapter, we must briefly refer to two or three similar sedition cases against some persons and newspapers of Maharashtra. Along with Tilak, the proprietor and the manager of the Arya Bhushan Press were also prosecuted. But the cases against them anyhow led to a result quite opposite to that of Tilak's case. Among the prosecuted newspapers must be mentioned the *Poona Vaibhav*, the *Moda Vritta* and the *Pratoda*. The editor of the first gave an apology to the Government for his objectionable writing and got his release. The editor of the second did also beg for mercy. But the request was not granted, though of course, the editor was sentenced to a light punishment of a month's simple imprisonment. In the case against the *Pratoda*, the editor was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment, though originally he was vindictively sentenced by Mr. Aston, the Sessions Judge of Satara, to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.

The people, of course, contrasted the bearing of Tilak in his case and that of other arrested and prosecuted newspapermen in their cases. All those cases, however, could not but be accepted as signs of the policy of repression that was being rigidly pursued by the Government. That policy did not soften thereafter. But on the contrary it was followed with increasing ferocity.

A strange outcome of Tilak's case was the amendment of the section under which he was charged. Though by fair or unfair means, Tilak was punished under it, the Government had seen the weakness in their case. While Tilak was in jail, both the Indian Penal and the Criminal Procedure Codes were amended. Article A of section 124 was widened in its application. That extension of the scope itself was a proof that Tilak was illegally punished. Tilak had to suffer the consequences of the grave injustice involved in Justice Strachey's interpretation of the sedition section. The history of the articles of sedition belongs appropriately to a book professedly dealing with the Indian political movement. We had simply to allude to it in as much as Tilak's case was the cause of the amendment of the meaning of sedition. Those who were bent upon finding fault with Tilak in season and out of season, did not hesitate to exercise their venomous pens and vitriolic tongues

against him, instead of praising his intrepid fight with the Government and his tenacity of patriotic purpose. That ignoble brood of critics alleged that Tilak had, by his action and writings, unnecessarily expanded the net of sedition. Their real underlying grievance was not that the net was cast wide; they wanted a stick to beat Tilak with and the modification of 'sedition' supplied it handy. People, on their part, valued that kind of selfish and ill-motivated criticism according to its deserts; and while those critics were thus making themselves ridiculous, the name of Tilak was gaining a higher and higher ground in public estimation.

The trial resulting in the conviction of Tilak is sure to go down to posterity as a historical trial. It might take rank with some of the important cases in which world-renowned personages like Socrates and Galileo were involved. For, in our opinion, Tilak was persecuted entirely for holding an opinion which was distasteful to the governing authorities. As Mr. Leonard Woolf has observed in his excellent review of Sir John Macdonell's "Historical Trials", "Law is a horrible thing, a terrible engine used at all times by those in power to butcher unfortunate people, whose opinions they did not like or whose existence was politically inconvenient." We do not consider that it is a particularly

heinous kind of *lese-majesty* to question the impartiality of Judges. Especially in cases where religion, patriotism, politics or class-interests enter, Mr. Woolf says, justice never has been and is not even-handed. It was exactly so in the case of Tilak as described above. His conviction was nothing less than a judicial murder in every sense of the words. We designate it by this phrase advisedly. Had it not been a murder, the Government would never have thought of amending the section of the Penal Code under which Tilak was charged and of explaining in detail the meaning of the words 'sedition' and 'disaffection.' Little wonder, therefore, that from such a trial, men of a sober and righteous turn of mind should draw the moral that the law should be given as little say as possible in matters of thought and opinion.

CHAPTER XXVI

IMPRISONMENT AND RELEASE

COMPARED with the jails of 1897, the present jails must be said to be almost palaces. There is a vast difference between the hardships of jail-life in 1897 and those of our own days. Experience of the present day jail-life is not likely to enable a man to fully imagine the thousand woes that were concommitants of imprisonment in the nineties of the last century. In the first days of jail-life Tilak faired ill under such pitiable circumstances. In prison, he could take no food, he could drink no water. Only to keep body and soul together, he had rarely to thrust down his throat thin crumbs of bread mixed with a little water. Full two months passed in that way. At a leap his weight fell down by 25 pounds. Everyday he grew more and more emaciated and the one anxiety and prayer of all his friends was that he should come out at least with his life safe. His friends saw no door open to try to get that situation changed for the better. The question of giving proper treatment to political prisoners was not in the hands of those people. And besides, with gentleman-prisoners it is always difficult to use the back-doors or backstairs influence for securing for them greater and special conveniences in jail.

The discipline of jails is extra-ordinarily rigid, no doubt; but as every law leaves ten loop-holes to one that it stops, so even jail-dicipline has its secret leakages. In the case of Tilak, however, all such open and under-ground ways were completely closed and Tilak had to drag on in the cell unrelieved by anything of that character. What we understand now by the expression "political prisoners" but what the Government pretends not to know, was not even within the ken either of the people or of the Government of those times. On the contrary, the offence of sedition was supposed to bear about it the bad odour of criminality. For, the Government had struck the name of Tilak off the register of the Fellows of the University of Bombay. He had already resigned his membership of the Legislative Council and of the Poona Municipality. But if he had not discreetly done so, he would sooner or later have had certainly to resign the two seats. The Government was practically bent upon so denigrating Tilak's character as to unfit him to be received in higher society with open arms and free minds. Naturally, a Government with such a dark motive could not be expected to give him a better and more congenial treatment, though his health appeared to be appallingly failing.

The only person that was expected to

take pity upon Tilak's failing heath and emaciating body, was perhaps the jail-doctor. But in that case too, if he were even remotely suspected of being extra careful in the matter of treatment to Tilak, his conduct was not likely to pass muster. Any special conveniences given to an ordinary prisoner would not have attracted the attention of the higher authorities. In Tilak's case, it was quite otherwise. Any distinction in food or any differentiation in general treatment would, at once, have excited the wrath of the superior jail-officials. With respect to law, it is observed, that while it grinds the poor, rich men rule it. But in the economy of jail, the position of the great and the ordinary people in relation to concessions seems to be altered completely. A common prisoner may hope for and obtain certain relaxations in the matter of jail-discipline, but an uncommon prisoner dare not wish for any such privilege, nor can jail-officials allow their feeling of mercifulness to over-ride the trembling fear of official superiors. We can well surmise that Tilak may have got some small concessions from the lower grade officials in jail. After keeping him for some days in the Dongri jaol, he was removed to the House of Correction at Byculla, where also was kept Tatyasaheb Natu. At Byculla also, Tilak did not feel better and the jail-officials them-

selves had finally to fix upon the Yervada jail as his residence, as likely to be more congenial to his health.

Sympathy for Tilak was being continuously expressed by the public through newspapers. The attempt, however, to pass a special resolution about him in the Amraoti Congress under the presidency of Sir Shankaran Nair, proved barren. It was plausibly argued that such a resolution could not have instantly served as a master key to fling open the doors of the jail; but there could be absolutely no doubt that it might have produced a softening effect on the attitude of the Government towards Tilak. At least Tilak's case would have been buttressed by the support of a powerful representative body as the Indian National Congress even then was considered to be. The extreme moderatism of certain incurable Moderates stood in the way of such a resolution finding a place in the agenda of the Congress. A variety of opinions was exhibited on that question when the anxious news of Tilak's failing health reached Amraoti, just on the eve of the Congress. In the midst of that imbroglio of views, the question of such a resolution was in the end mortally chopped up. Except proving how entirely the Congress was under the thumb of the Moderate party and how cowardly was the attitude of that party towards the patriotic

sons of India as Tilak indubitably was, the timid unwillingness of the dominant party in the Congress to accept a resolution of that type achieved nothing.

A relieving feature, however, of that condemnable cussedness of the Congress was that the president himself and some of the most notable speakers on the Congress platform, referred to Tilak in glowing expressions of sympathy for his condition and of admiration for his bold patriotism. Sir Shankaran Nair, an eminent lawyer that he was, laid great stress on the law-points in the Tilak case and asserted with great force that in England Tilak would have been treated with all the honours and dignity due to a political prisoner. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee grew far more emphatic and eloquent and thundered out to the assembly that his soul was inhabiting the jail with Tilak who, in his opinion, was perfectly innocent. Babu Umesh Chandra Banerjee fearlessly pronounced Justice Strachey's definition of 'sedition' to be wholly indefensible and repugnant to public opinion. When Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee reached the peak of his superb oratory while speaking of Tilak, people in the Congress rose to their feet in reverence, triumphantly cried out, echoed and re-echoed the name of Tilak and clapped their hands with such a tremendous enthusiasm that even the stentorian voice of

that renounced Demosthenes of India was very nearly drowned. Newspapers of the day described that magnificent scene in the Congress as unprecedented in its history. That was all undoubtedly very well. But no part of it had any effect on the circumstances that were cruelly eating into the vitals of Tilak.

Such was the position of glory which Tilak occupied in the eye of the whole nation. It was a perfect contrast to the position which his life-long rival, G. K. Gokhale, came to fill. There was never any love lost between those two leaders. Their very stars seemed to be in eternal conflict, with the result that both always stood almost at two opposite extremities. The irony of it was, that when Tilak had reached the highest point of popularity, Gokhale had fallen pitiably low in the public esteem. When Gokhale went to England in the summer of 1897, he was given an honourable send-off by the people of India. But when he came back, he brought with him a load of shame which burst over his head as soon as he landed on the Indian soil. The degradation was due to the most humiliating apology he tendered to the Government for statements he had made in England, with respect to the violent acts of soldiers in the notorious regime of Rand. In making those statements, he had relied of course on the information conveyed through private letters

to him by his friends and acquaintances in India. If that information was not entirely supported by facts, Gokhale was certainly justified in retracting his allegations. But in his extreme moderatism and in his exaggerated regard for the Government, he went far beyond such a legitimate expression of regret at his statements made in England on second-hand information but not completely borne out by the actual facts of the situation in India.

Gokhale's apology meant an unconditional surrender into the hands of the Government which probably got it signed by him almost at the point of the bayonet. By means of that apology the Government not only white-washed the vile and heinous doings of their soldiers, but proved that there was no transgression of the limits of decency by any of the employees of the Government. Gokhale had either to choose such a discreditable and timid apology or to face the wrath of the Government and even a trial in the court of law. He plumped for the first and wrote himself off irretrievably, while he put his signature on the draft of the apology. It was thickly rumoured then that Mr. Bennett, editor of the *Times*, drafted it, Justice Ranade approved of it, and Gokhale signed it without the least show of opposition. The political atmosphere in which Tilak and Gokhale moved at that

time, was surcharged with the dissatisfaction due to the Rand administration. The poignancy of the difference between the positions of the two leaders lay in the fact that, while Tilak was undergoing suffering on account of his advocacy of the popular side in the matter of the Rand murder and after, Gokhale, though an ordinary courteous expression of regret might have served his purpose well, had offered an unhesitating apology to the Government which sheltered him beneath their protection. There was moral courage in both ; but the moral courage of Tilak was manifested in defence of his mother-country and the moral courage of Gokhale was exhibited in a way so as to please the foreign Government !

Popular feeling against Gokhale was so profoundly embittered at the time that he dared not speak out in the Amraoti Congress. And it appeared that, even if he had ventured to do so, people were not in a mood to receive his words without expression of a detestation of his conduct. Tilak, on the other hand, was enthroned in the public heart with all the majesty of a king. But 'uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.' Of course, he had no mental anxiety except for the upliftment of the people whom he appeared to rule and who gave the place of honour to him in their hearts. All his uneasiness was due to the extreme privations of jail-life. He was

certainly the unofficial monarch of the people; but the insignia of his informal sovereignty comprised not a royal robe and an imperial crown, but a ragged blanket and a livery of the jail! He was certainly a monarch of the people, but his sumptuous diet consisted only of a half-baked bread and some partially cooked botchery of vegetables. It was but natural that under those circumstances, people's minds were deeply exercised by the question of ameliorating the condition that was playing havoc with Tilak's health. As we have noticed above, people's resources in that respect seemed to have reached their fruitless tether.

Only one effort slightly succeeded and it was through the Howard Association in England. That Association was primarily formed with a view to endeavour to improve the jail-life of prisoners all over the world, and to give a reforming turn to the treatment given to juvenile prisoners with the purpose of making them better citizens. Mr. Setlur, a pleader of Bombay, wrote a detailed letter to the Secretary of that association, describing truthfully the conditions of Tilak's jail-life. The Secretary, with his own views added, sent up the letter to the then Secretary of State for India, who as a matter of official routine, replied that some of Mr. Setlur's allegations were wrong and that Tilak was being given treatment according

to the code of jail-discipline. Though that reply was couched in the usual official phraseology, the Government did give demi-official instructions to make enquiries into the real state of affairs. How the Association in question was exceedingly touched by Mr. Setlur's description of Tilak's jail-life was evident from the letter of the Secretary of the Association to Mr. Setlur, from which we abstract the following few sentences:—

"If any serious thing happens to Tilak, you may let me know of it in detail. But I hope he will survive his detention. In my letter I reminded Lord George Hamilton, that if Tilak should die in jail, it would attract widespread criticism, both in this country and in India, of the Indian prison-regime and that this of course would be very undesirable from the point of view especially of the Government."

The particular case of Tilak led the Howard Association to adopt the following general resolution regarding the treatment of political prisoners in India:

"The Committee of the Howard Association have lately received various communications from India, referring to the actual and prospective imprisonments, for real or alleged infringements of the press-laws of that country. The committee are of opinion that, in general, this class of offences ought to be regarded as being of a political rather

than of a criminal nature, and that the punishment should be differentiated accordingly."

Two reasons could be given for the sudden transfer of Tilak from Bombay to Yeravda jail. The first might have been that, being awakened to their responsibility by the letter of the Howard Association, the Government wanted to give better conditions to Tilak, which they could not do in the same jail without a kind of mortification to the officials in jail, but which they could easily do in a new jail. All of a sudden one day the jail doctor stood before Tilak and put it to him why he did not inform him of the unsuitability of jail-diet to his health. As a matter of fact, Tilak did not desire to bring the hornet's nest about his ears by complaining constantly against the inconveniences and discomforts which he had to go through in the dungeon which was called jail. The only simple reply that he gave to the jail-doctor was that if he had cared, he would have learnt from his falling weight the unsuitability of the food he got. That reply naturally went home to the doctor who recommended immediate removal.

The second reason probably might have been the dreadful emergence of plague in Bombay in 1898. The God of death extorted some toll even in jail. The Government had already made themselves enormously un-

popular by arresting and confining Tilak. They were terribly afraid of causing any the least danger to his life. He allowed himself to be inoculated in conformity with the jail-rules, though personally he had little faith in inoculation. He had high fever for two days as a result of it and he lost three pounds in two days. The idea of his removal to a different jail from Bombay was approved and one day in a silent manner he was brought into Yeravda jail near Poona. His withdrawal from Dongri jail, his arrival at the Victoria Terminus, and his reaching Poona, all those were kept as a secret affair. The first-class railway saloon which was reserved for him was completely closed on all sides. But at Kalyan the plague-doctor's examination was to be held; and when the doctor opened the doors, people peeped through the windows into the compartment and they recognized Tilak even in his disfiguring and misleading uniform of the jail. The news spread with a prairie-fire swiftness and though the train halted only for a few moments, the platform became alive with human beings that had crowded to have the holy *darshan* of the revered patriot.

At Yeravda his health showed signs of gradual improvement. The quality of his food was changed and he was given a less arduous job than formerly. He had an ingrained habit of chewing bits of beetle-nut

without interruption. At Yeravda he got a piece or two of it, while in Bombay he had to sacrifice the much missed pleasure derived from his habitual nut-grinding. He was assigned the work of preparing some colours and paints. That art was altogether new to him; but according to his habit he set about mastering it in a most serious manner. He was always in love with his work of whatever description it might be. He practised his art with much alacrity; and the degree of skill he attained was manifest from the pieces of variegated paper over which he tried his preparations. He was permitted to take home that bundle of papers containing evidence of his skill in painting. The collection became an object of exhibition and people often demanded to have a look at it in a spirit of almost a legendary curiosity which even trifling episodes in a great man's career often prolifically rouse. While Tilak was one day thus engaged in making paints, one of the Councillors of the Bombay Government, Mr. Newgent, appeared before him all too unexpectedly. Seeing Mr. Newgent at a distance, Tilak perhaps sought to avoid him by occupying himself with things which really he did not want. But Mr. Newgent was bent upon seeing him and having a chat with him. He approached quite close to Tilak and asked him whether he liked the work. Tilak told him that it was of course the best

under the circumstances. We cannot say definitely with what exact motive Mr. Newgent contrived to see Tilak. It is said that it was sincere sympathy for Tilak that drove him to find him out and meet him. It is equally well said that he wanted to humiliate Tilak. People, in general, believed in the latter and having no sufficient data to establish the final conclusion in that behalf, we must leave the question at that, without unnecessarily exercising our powers of imagination.

Since Tilak's transfer from Bombay jail to Yeravda jail, the feeling of despair about his life, which brooded over his friends' minds began definitely to ebb away. Efforts for his release grew more insistent and easy. In the first place, investigation into the murder of Rand was over and the case against Damodar Chafekar was decided finally. By the bye, we should like to mention here that, while staying in the same jail with Tilak, Chafekar had asked for permission to see him. He wanted an application to be drafted by Tilak. The request of Chafekar was granted, as generally requests of persons under the sentence of death are courteously agreed to, and Tilak wrote for him a petition against the capital punishment passed upon him. The application, however, was not successful in getting the sentence commuted. Tilak fulfilled two of Chafekar's other wishes in jail with greater

success. He demanded from Tilak the copy of the Bhagwat Gita to be kept with him till he was hanged. He also requested Tilak that his dead body should be handed over for cremation according to the Hindu rites and that it should not be defiled by the touch of other people. Of course, Tilak gave away the book to him and through his nephew got the last wish of Chafekar also fully satisfied.

That termination of the Chafekar case scattered away the cloud of suspicion of Tilak's connection with it. It being established in the court of law that Tilak had not even the remotest connection with it, even the *Times of India* freely gave publicity to letters in favour of liberating Tilak. For some time the rumour of his release spread out thickly, and it was thought to be so reliable that people seemed to be in a hurry to think out appropriate methods to give him a gorgeous reception. The Government themselves had declared their intention of freeing some of the sick prisoners; but an unusual straining of imagination was required to include Tilak in that sick-list. The Government also were thinking of certain conditions which were to be put upon Tilak as a price for his untimely release. However, the data on which people based their inferences bordering on confidence, we have no authority either to prove or to disprove. At any rate, the idea of releasing Tilak was agitating the British authorities

who had written to the Government of India on the point. It might be that the British authorities concerned were moved by the action of the Howard Association described in the previous paragraphs. But more than that, they must have been shamed into moving in the matter of release by a splendid step taken by a group of pre-eminently learned men headed by Max Muller. The letter of the Howard Association inclined more towards securing better treatment in jail rather than full freedom out of it, while Max Muller and others stood for nothing but immediate discharge. In January of 1898, some gentlemen drew Max Muller's attention to the fact that an erudite person like Tilak was rotting in jail under rigorous imprisonment for sedition. It was well said that only a learned man could fully appreciate and respect the virtues of his like; others could but vacantly look on. Five years before some correspondence had passed between Tilak and Max Muller regarding Tilak's *Orion*. Professor Max Muller had already sent through a Bengali gentleman at Oxford a copy of his *Rigveda* to be handed over to Tilak in jail. That copy reached the hands of Tilak by the permission of the Government of Bombay through the editor of the *Champion* of Bombay. The Bengali gentleman in his covering letter dated 21st January, 1898, wrote that Prof. Max Muller was feeling very sorry for Tilak and

that he wished that Tilak were given a less rigorous treatment. The great Professor had expressed his deep anxiety for getting Tilak released and was prepared to exercise his influence with the Government.

The application suggested by the Bengali gentleman was submitted to the Secretary of State for India in the month of February. It was signed by Prof. Max Muller, Sir William Hunter, Sir Richard Garth, Mr. William Cane, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Romesh Chandra Datta, among many other gentlemen whose names are less known to us. Among the signatories to the application, there was a sprinkling of members of the Parliament also. That application for Tilak's release was based on the following arguments succintly set forth: (1) Tilak was a loyal subject that had on many occasions given good counsel and assistance to the Government and his election to the Council was duly confirmed by the Government. (2) Some of the articles which formed the staple of the charge of sedition against him were written at a time when the public mind was exceedingly high-strung, due to the plague-repression ; if they were found to be really dangerously seditious by the Government, Tilak ought to have been prosecuted at that very time. (3) It was understood that criticism of the Government was considered as legitimate and tolerable in India as in England ; it was

true that sedition should not be encouraged; but it was indeed improper that Tilak should have fallen the first victim to sedition. (4) From his essays in the *Orion* it appeared that he was a profound scholar and his soul loved to dwell in the temple of ancient learning as in nothing else. (5) It was impossible that a man like him should have been accustomed to hard labour of the type assigned to him in jail; his health had completely broken down under the severity of jail-work and jail-life in general. (6) The real culprit in the Rand murder case had been traced to be an educated person and a born revolutionary; he could not have been incited to commit the crime by the articles in the *Kesari*. (7) In passing punishment on Tilak the dignity of law had already been maintained and the ends of justice had likewise been served. Even if there might be sedition brewing anywhere in India the punishment of Tilak was sufficient to suppress it, or at least to render it nugatory. The before-time release of Tilak would produce a wide-spread, beneficial and assuaging effect on the public mind."

That, in brief, was the application forwarded to the Secretary of State for India. As soon as Tilak came to know of the fact, he hastened to despatch a letter to Prof. Max Muller which seemed to have been written with a pen of gratitude in the ink of humble ap-

preciation. In it he acknowledged the receipt of the copy of the *Rigveda* sent by the great Professor for his perusal. Tilak's heart was probably suffused with gratefulness and every word of the letter was so touching that we might well imagine Prof. Max Muller to have exclaimed like Wordsworth :

> " Alas ! the gratitude of men,
> Hath oftener left me mourning.

Fortunately for Tilak, the jail-superintendent at the time was a very sympathetic gentleman by name Solomon. Though he was not himself a rose among the garden of the learned, he might justly be said to have lived near the rose. He was an admirer of learning. He must have certainly been happily disillusioned to find that he had under his charge an illustrious prisoner whom even Prof. Max Muller had thought fit to present a copy of his *Rigveda*. Naturally, Mr. Solomon came to have a high regard and deep sympathy for the person in his custody. As a mark of his gratuitous respect towards the prisoner, he allowed Tilak the use of light till 10 o'clock at night, confirmed for Tilak the work of dyeing as comparatively less arduous and also gave him the concession to take his food in the hospital of the jail. Even those small comforts had a bracing effect on Tilak's health and he could spend his time without brain-fag in reading and expounding to himself the *Rigveda*. Tilak

used to tell that, during those days when some difficult point with respect to a passage in *Rigveda* or an intractable thought in that behalf continued to swirl and swing in his mind, he often slept all the night with his eyes open. But that curious vigil kept by him was not a compulsory watch like that of a guard but a self-imposed pleasing wakefulness. And hence, it had no injurious effect on Tilak's gradually improving physical condition.

While in jail Tilak felt a good deal of concern for his newspapers. As the tender heart of a bird flying ever so high in the air, remains in its nest where its young ones are nestled, so Tilak's heart, though his body was confined in jail, constantly flew back to his two papers which were to him like his two children. In his absence, the papers met with a serious accident due to the burning down of the press in which they were printed. The difficulty, indeed disconcerting at the first blush, was tided over by the devotion, assiduity and shrewd tactfulness of Tilak's nephew, Mr. Vidwans. When he went to see Tilak he informed him at one and the same time of the danger which the papers had met and the way in which it was overcome. Tilak was naturally mighty glad to learn that in his absence the papers did not succumb to any set-back.

On the whole, the superintendent-ship

of Mr. Solomon was comfortable for Tilak. Before leaving India for good, he made a point of bidding adieu to the renowned prisoner under his care; and assured him that soon he too, like him (Mr. Solomon), would go back to his house and home. Mr. Solomon was succeeded by Colonel Jackson. Perhaps he dared not interfere with the concessions enjoyed by Tilak with regard to food, light, books, work etc., but he differed widely from his predecessor. The smallness of his mind became apparent from one or two instances which we cannot help mentioning. Tilak being in the habit of wearing Deccani shoes, was sent a pair of them. Strangely enough, the redness of the shoes was, as it were, a red rag to him; and though those were not the days of Bolshevism, he was so afraid of the colour that he did not hand the pair over to Tilak without coating it with jet-black.

The attempts at release of Tilak from jail were, of course, going on without interruption. The Government also was seeking to draw out from him his consent to the humiliating conditions which they had contemplated. They wanted him not to participate in the functions that might be held to receive him after his release. They further wanted him to agree to take no part in the politics of the country. The first condition, of course, was not thought likely to be disagreeable to him, inasmuch as he himself

was too humble and unostentatious to parade in demonstrations intended for giving him a welcome. But the second was obviously not only repugnant to him but highly offensive to his sense of self-respect and deeply insulting to his mother-country which he had vowed to serve. D. A. Khare on behalf of Tilak and Mr. Bruin on behalf of the Government had to run through a rigmarole of negotiations and to play a game at sea-saw in that connection. Mr. Bruin had a tongue that was sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb; and he had a mind that was artful and crafty to a remarkable degree. It was the intention of the Government to manœuvre an abject apology from Tilak, as they had succeeded in securing from one of the Chafekars. Tilak, however, was more than a match for Mr. Bruin. He was too diplomatic to be thus lightly imposed upon by the blandishments of Mr. Bruin.

On the third of September matters came to a head. Khare was suddenly called up to Poona. Both Mr. Bruin and Khare went to the Yeravda jail on the 4th, held a conference with Tilak, discussed the proposed conditions in all their aspects and with all their implications. Tilak and Khare suggested a condition of their own, namely, that, if Tilak were again tried and convicted on the charge of sedition he should then fill up the six months' unexpired term of im-

prisonment. Mr. Bruin was not authorised to accept that new condition without consulting the Government again. But he was confident that the Government anyhow wanted to relieve themselves from this Tartar of a prisoner they had caught and urged Khare to stay on in Poona till he came back with the Government's approval of the condition. The whole of the 6th of December was spent in discussion of that condition by the Executive Council of the Government of Bombay. The decision to let Tilak off was at last taken at 8 P.M. on Tuesday, the 6th of September. Immediately, as settled between them Mr. Bruin and Khare ran to the jail-door, though it was late at night. The rules of jail were softened for them. The door was opened. Tilak placed his signature over the paper containing the conditions. At 10-30 P.M. Khare knocked at the Vinchurkar Wada; and when the door was unlatched, Tilak stepped in after 51 weeks of hard labour!

With the rapidity of lightning the news of Tilak's release spread not only in the city of Poona, but throughout the whole of India. Congratulatory telegrams and letters began to pour in, and invitations to visit numerous towns and villages attacked him in battalions. Tilak thanked all those people by means of general thanks given through the columns of the *Kesari*. It was impossible for him to stir

out of the house without a sufficiently long and complete rest-cure. But visitors came so flooding in, that nothing could stem the roaring human tide. An English daily of Bombay computed one day's total at 10,000. Several ceremonies, both private and public, were held in honour of his release. Perhaps diplomatically allowing a sufficient time to elapse, leaders among Tilak's opponents also condescended to formally pay a visit to him after his jail-life. The ubiquitous correspondents and representatives of newspapers and news-agencies crowded at his doors and waited upon him to obtain some exciting details of his prison-days and the outline of his future policy of work. Tilak, however, disappointed most of them. The skilful inventiveness and the distending genius of this class of people made up what purported to be Tilak's interviews and conversations. Tilak simply contented himself with declaring that nothing that had appeared outside the *Sudharak* should be taken as having any foundation in fact.

Tilak received letters of felicitation from foreign countries also. We sample below two from among them. Babu Romesh Chandra Datta wrote from England to the following effect under date, the 13th of October 1898: "I cannot describe in words what feelings rise in my heart when I remember the hardships you have borne. The courage

and the power of suffering you have so far shown are worthy of admiration. Those nations alone rise whose people possess such qualities and bear such sufferings. I do not doubt that the effect of your example will be permanent. Your endeavours will never go in vain. They are bound to bear fruit. Your hardships will lead the nation to victory".

Mr. William Cain expressed his mind in the following touching words in his letter bearing date, 13th, November 1898: "I am aware of the religious tendency of your mind. And hence you will not disagree when I say that the hardships of man tend to make his life perfect. You are coming out from your ordeal of jail-life with a fuller and brighter lustre. It was inevitable, in the circumstances, that some leading personality should fall victim to the Government's wrath. You will be proud that you, of all others, got the distinction. The future historian of India will record your achievements in the proper place and the posterity will ever be justly grateful for the enormous hardships you bore for the nation's political liberty."

CHAPTER XXVII

TILAK AND THE ANTIQUITY OF THE VEDAS

PROF. Max Muller was one of the signatories to the representation made to the British Government for the release of Tilak; and one of the reasons put forward in support thereof was that the history of the remote past was, to Tilak, of more absorbing interest than what concerned the present. Apparently this is an exaggeration. Some may therefore even doubt if Prof. Max Muller had ever truly understood Tilak, except as a learned Pandit at the most and that too by chance only, and, say, that it was but natural for a learned scholar like Prof. Max Muller to make such a statement and base his recommendations for the release of another great Pandit mainly on the distinction attained by the latter by his vast learning. But even this is not a satisfactory and true explanation. Every man, while pursuing his varied occupations and attending to his life's necessities such as his daily food, rest and diversions, is besides found engrossed in some kind of hobby created by himself, in which he finds a means of real gratification and pleasure; and a minute observation and analysis of such particular hobbies of several

men furnishes a criterion for rightly estimating the difference between their worth and merit and classify them accordingly.

Regarded in this light, it will readily be admitted that literary pursuits were, in the case of Tilak, what really delighted him and for which he had a great liking. Many people must have heard Tilak himself exclaiming "I have had a real liking for following the occupation of a professor and a writer; but it is by sheer force of circumstances that I wooed politics and have become an editor instead." Every person has some such thing to engross his mind fully and which is called his hobby. When we read the lives of the great men of the western countries, we find every one of them having a hobby of some one kind or another of his own creation. Generally we find that almost everybody has thus a double vocation to keep him engaged—the one pertaining to his own daily duties and the other to his heart's or mind's hobby. Thus it is we find that, where as a politician is known better for being a painter, and an engineer for his poetic genius, an educationist becomes more noteworthy as a gardener and a great barrister wins a greater notoriety not so much by his success at the bar but by his skill in lion-hunting. Gladstone used to occupy himself in the diversion of chopping wood even

when his mind was otherwise deeply absorbed in politics, and was himself besides an acknowledged authority on the knotty points in the history and legends of the Greeks.

That is also true in the case of Tilak. From this point of view, the argument advanced by Prof. Max Muller in the above application was perfectly logical. In his letter to Professor Max Muller it is stated by Tilak that he devoted his leisure time to a research into and a study of the ancient Vedic civilization and its literature; and many of those who intimately knew Tilak had occasion, by personal knowledge, to know that this statement was quite true. Even while a game of politics was being played tight between the contending opponents, or while a local dispute was developing into a serious affair, or when some political movement had violently bestirred every hearth and home, or while in the hall just outside his reading room stormy discussions were being held—even under such distracting circumstances Tilak was often to be found in an easy chair in his reading room, just adjoining the hall, with a book treating of the Vedas or one about ancient Chaldœa, Assyria or Iran, and so deeply engrosssed in reading it, that he seemed to be completely unaware of what was going on outside or so much absorbed in his study that anybody calling him

out, would hardly be able to divert his attention from it. A man can be said to be fully enjoying real happiness only when, for a time at least, he fully forgets himself and is completely absorbed in it. The assertion is often made that, if Tilak had not turned out to be a great politician, he would surely have come out as a great Pandit. Though true in itself, this statement has no fresh charm in it, since Tilak has proved himself to be both a great Pandit and, at the same time, a great politican also.

Even while Tilak was following his career in the Fergusson College, he was pursuing this occupation of his heart's liking as time permitted; but his exertions in that direction do not seem to have materialized in the shape of a work or an essay. At this period, however, when discussions on social topics had become the order of the day, his knowledge of the Smriti works found publicity in the shape of various literary contributions bearing on the subject. But it was only after the year 1890, that the seed of learning the Bhagwat Geeta and the Vedas, which had been implanted in him in his boyhood by his father, showed the first signs of fertilization. In 1890 he had mentally arrived at a particular proposition regarding the fixing of the age of the Vedas, which he subsequently set forth in the *Orion* as he named his small book. In 1891 he gave a

lecture on this subject in the Heerabâg and another in the same year in the Deccan College on the occassion of its annual gathering. The subject matter of these lectures was afterwards put in the form of an essay, which later on, in 1893, was written and published with the designation of the *Orion*. A summary of the subject-matter treated of in the *Orion* was presented to the Oriental Congress held that year in London and was also embodied in its report. But this subject—the antiquity of the Vedas—was not such as could be adequately dealt with only in one little volume like the *Orion*. The *Orion* was but one of the stages on the route of pilgrimage on which Tilak had started in search of the starting point in the antiquity of the Vedas, it was not the final terminus on that route; and though his next work, the *Arctic Home*, which he brought out in 1903, could be regarded as the next or the anterior stage on the journey—in order of the time of its appearance—still in relation to the main subject it turns out to be but the prior or the posterior one.

RESEARCHES INTO THE ANTIQUITY OF THE VEDAS

These two works, *viz.*, the Orion and the Arctic Home in the Vedas.—(The Vedic evidence about the inhabitation of the Polar regions) are just like a

couple of two inseparable units. In the preface to this second of the two works of his, Tilak has styled them as the complements of one another. In one sense these two works may aptly be regarded as twins. But the Twins even, when they are born, do not come out into the world simultaneously, but follow each other and yet they are regarded as twins, in spite of the lapse of some little time in their appearances. Similarly, in the case of these two works, though they followed each other after an interval of ten years, still on account of their common origin in the self-same centre of thought-faculty, they cannot but be regarded in the light of twins. Really speaking, in this work of biography which is here sketched out chronologically, the *Orion* ought to have been mentioned along with the narration of the incidents of the year 1893, while the second work, on account of the fact of its being published in 1903, should not have been mentioned here—in this part of the biography—which is restricted to the narration of events to the end of 1899. It will however be noticed that in many of the preceding chapters, the incidents happening within a space of an interval of 4 or 5 years have been, for the sake of a clear grasp of the subject-matter, treated together. The same procedure is followed in this case also. For, though the second of the two works was actually

published in 1903, yet Tilak had collected its material and planned its structure even before 1899. It is for this reason, that an account of these two works of Tilak's is given in this part as relating to or being collateral with the incidents of the period from 1890 to 1899.

An account of this pilgrimage in search of the origin of the Vedas is given by Tilak in the preface of the second work. He says, "For ascertaining the age of the Vedas, the European Scholars have divided the Vedic literature into several groups or periods and have assigned different chronological limits to them. But by assigning too short a period of time to each of these groups, they concluded that the commencement of the age of the Vedas could not be placed earlier than 2500 B. C. But this method of calculation is, in my opinion, most vague and uncertain. Whereas, when the astronomical allusions and references occurring in the Vedas are taken into account, it becomes just possible for the age of the Vedas to be carried further back into antiquity to about 5000 years B. C. Astronomers like Mr. Ketkar have already demonstrated the truth of this statement by mathematical computations." But this was not a matter that would at once carry conviction into the minds of European scholars. They had, however, generally admitted the probability of arriving at some different conclusions in this

respect, by following the research on these fresh lines of astronomical computations. Prof. Bloomfield had also admitted that the age of the Vedas could easily be carried back 5000 years, and as Tilak had entertained a similar opinion, he continued the work of further research for 10 years on the same old lines, even after the publication of the *Orion*. In this attempt he received additional support in the form of geological and archaeological evidences. He completed the manuscript copy of this second work the *Arctic Home of the Vedas* by the end of the year 1898 A. D. and on the strength of the particular geological evidence before him, he carried back the antiquity of the Vedas at least 8000 years B. C.

It is certain that the main idea of this second work of Tilak had lit upon his mind just when he was writing the *Orion*. But at that time, he had not as much substantiating evidence for regarding it as a positive truth, as he wished to have; and in the absence of any such evidence, like a thoughtful or true logician, he could not accept this presumptive or supposititious hypothesis as true, howsoever fascinating and pleasing it might be to him. In fact he has but made just a passing mention of this new idea therein, only problematically and in a suspensive vein. In the second chapter of the *Orion* there are some references about the Human or mortal year

being but equal to a day of the gods—the Devas—*i. e.*, it is made up of a night extending over a period of darkness of six months and a day extending similarly over a period of sunshine of another six months; and while alluding to these Tilak has himself warned his readers that it would but be preposterous to infer from them at once that the polar regions were at that remote time inhabitable by men. It is true, however, that traditions or legends pointing to such a possibility have been handed down in history and yet the only right thing to infer from them alone would be that when the Aryans had to differentiate between the meanings of Uttarayan and Dakshinayan, they explained these new ideas with the help of the old terms *day* and *night* respectively, with which they had already been once familiar. But when on geological considerations it was proved beyond doubt that the polar regions were, once in the remote past, actually inhabitable, what was once previously put forward by him only as a surmise was later on accepted by him as a proposition firmly established. Thus his former attitude of suspense and uncertainty and the later one of a firm conviction go to establish the honesty of the opinions he entertained.

The Vedic literature of the Aryans and especially the Rigved are the oldest literary

works of the whole humanity, and this fact had already been universally admitted and established by the endeavours of the Western scholars, like Prof. Max Muller, into the researches of their antiquity. Still much uncertainty and difference of opinion ranged round the question of the exact age of the Vedas. Philology and Astronomy, as has been mentioned by Tilak in the *Orion*, are the two principal means in the process of ascertaining the exact age of the Vedas and thus two independent methods of investigation have been established. But of these two methods, the philological or the linguistic method alone came to be regarded as of special importance by Prof. Max Muller and other western scholars who condemned the other method —the astronomical method—as indefinite and unreliable. They thought it to be quite impossible, that the people of that remote Vedic period should have any exact comprehension of such astronomical ideas as the equinoxes and the solstices, and that therefore, the inferences drawn from these allusions with the help of our modern and scientific knowledge could not in any sense be regarded as reliable. But Tilak has tried to refute this argument by asserting that, even though the ancient Aryans had no knowledge of exact mathematical calculations or of the calendar, they might have devised some other means of measuring time by noting the

movements in the heavens with their naked eyes.

Even allowing a difference of 4° or 5° in the positions of the heavenly bodies as determined by such rough observations and those fixed by up-to-date means, there would be at the most, a maximum variation of about 300 or 350 years, in the age thus ascertained. But a difference of about 300 years counts but little where we have to compute in figures of several thousands. It must besides be borne in mind that, as the sacrifice played such a very important part in the Vedic religion, and for the timely performance of the several rites connected therewith, a particular time was necessary, some kind of calendar to reckon time was essential. It is, therefore, that we find in the Vedic Literature numerous references about the calendar—some of them very direct and others metaphorical. With such excellent means of ascertaining the age of the Vedas at one's disposal, it would be unwise to have recourse to the erratic method based on Philology. In the Upanishads there occur sentences like *i. e.* a Samvatsar is the Prajapati and the Prajapati is but the Sacrifice, which go to show that the words Samvatsar and Sacrifice were, in the Vedic Period, used as synonymous terms; and when the various sentences, which occur in the account of the Sacrificial rites, are interpreted in this light,

they throw a flood of light on the age of the Vedas.

Prof. Max Muller, following the philological method, divides the Vedic Literature into four periods—the Chhandas, Mantra, Brahmana, and Sutra and assigns 200 years to each of them. Thus he computes a total period of 800 years for the formation of the Vedic Literature. But as this period is prior to the ascendancy of Budhism, *i.e.*, 500 years B. C. he arrives at about 1200 B. C., at which he fixes the age of the Vedas. On the other hand, Dr. Haug, following the same method, but assigning 500 years to each of the four periods instead of 200, fixed the age-limit a little further backwards at 2400 B. C. Tilak, however, discarded all these methods and adopted a different method altogether.

Every one is conversant with the simple fact that the sun does not always cross the meridian exactly at the zenith point, but its transit takes place at a point sometimes to the south and sometimes to the north of that celestial point. Only twice during the whole year and that at an interval of six months, the sun crosses the meridian exactly at this point over head. The time when he first crosses the meridian at the zenith and then moves on northwards is called the Vernal Equinox, and when he crosses the meridian a second time at the zenith-point and then moves on southwards is known as the

Autumnal Equinox. This point, where he crosses the meridian at the time of the Vernal Equinox, is at present 18° to the East of the asterism named the Rewati in the zodiacal sign Pisces; that is, at the time of the Vernal Equinox, the Sun is 18° to the East of Rewati. In the year 496 of the Shalivahan Shaka the Vernal Equinoctial point coincided with the Rewati.

The asterisms near which the Sun crosses the celestial Equator have been changing very, very slowly. The rate* of this Precession of the Equinoxes has been minutely determined by astronomers, and by a mathematical calculation with this data they can determine the exact position which the Vernal Equinox occupied in any given year of the Calendar. If, on the other hand, they come across a reference in any work mentioning the position of the Vernal Equinoctial point in relation to a particular asterism, they can by a similar calculation determine the year of that occurrence. At the time when the work named *Vedanga Jyotisha*, an ancient work on the Vedic Calender, was written, this Equinoctial point was 10° to the west of the asterism Bharani or Musea Borealis in the sign of the Ram. Therefore by calculation we know that this work was

* The actual rate of the motion of this Precession of the Equinoxes is 50″ per 25 years and the cycle is completed in about 21,000 years.

written about 1300 B. C. In the Taittiriya Brahmana, there are passages from which it could be inferred with certainty that, this Equinoctial point coincided with the asterism Krittika, Pleiades. This enables us to determine the time when these works were composed, *viz.*, about 2500 B.C. Similarly there are passages in the Rigved which show that, at the time of the Rigved Literature, the Vernal Equinox occupied a position in the constellation of Orion or the Agrahayan, and thus its age can be fixed at about 4000 B. C. Going still backwards, we find some hazy indications pointing to a position in the group of stars named Punarvasu which the Vernal Equinox once occupied. But no such clear references occur in the Vedic Literature. Thus we arrive at the following Table :—

Name of Period	From	To	Change of the position of Vernal Equinox
The Aditi or the Pre-Orion period	6000 B.C.	4000 B.C.	From Punarvasu to Mrigashirsha
The Orion peroid	4000 B.C.	2500 B.C.	From Mrigashirsha to Krittika
The Krittika period	2500 B.C.	1400 B.C.	From Krittika to Bharani, the appearance of the Vedang Jyotisha

Thus the age of the Rigved is proved to be 4000 B. C., *i. e.*, it is placed 2000 years further behind than the latest date arrived at by the Western scholars and thus it establishes the fact that, the Aryan civiliza-

tion is older than the Egyptian, Chinese, or the Chaldean civilizations.

We now proceed to describe the evidence and the arguments put forward by Tilak to demonstrate the truth of the proposition he has set forth in his work—the *Orion,* and this must of course be done here as briefly as possible. A summary of the chief points only is therefore given here below. Those who care to look for a fuller treatment of the subject will do well to refer either to the original work in English or its translation into Marathi.

The book commences with the mention of (1) the importance of ascertaining the antiquity of the Vedas and (2) the different methods of investigation adopted by different scholars. This is followed by a short account of the Vedic Calendar and the particular times at which the sacrifices were to be performed as also the day on which the year was considered to have commenced. Chapter III deals with such facts and traditions which point to a period when the Vernal Equinox was in the Krittika and the time of that epoch is determined therefrom. The next chapter (IV) is devoted to a consideration of the derivation of the word Agrahayani which is another name for the Mrigasheersha, as it was helpful for inferring therefrom the fact that the Vernal Equinox had at that

time occupied a position therein. It is further pointed out that the Mrigasheersha was once reckoned as the starting point or the first mile stone in the cyclic series of the Nakshatras. There it is also shown that the adoption of an erroneous derivation of the word Agrahayan further misled the writers into a number of other false notions. This chapter is brought to a close after giving a possible reason of the precession of the Equinoxes. Chapter V shows the close resemblance of some of the allusions and traditions occurring in the Vedas, Brahmanas and the Grecian Mythology, in connection with the Head of the antelope in the *Orion*.

The next two chapters point out the identity of the *Orion* and his Belt of the Greeks, with the Prajapati *alias* the Sacrifice and the Yajna and his sacred thread—the Yajnopavita of us Aryans, as also with the Homa (The Soma of us Aryans) and his girdle of the Parsis, and they further show it as probable that the Greek word *Orion* has its origin in the Vedic word Agrahayan. All these considerations are based on the assumption that the Vernal Equinox once occupied a position in the asterism of Mriga the *Orion*.

The next Chapter VII shows the extent of the knowledge of astronomy, which the Vedic bards had acquired even at that remote period of time, and largely deals with a verse and a passage from Rigved and their exposi-

tion which serves as a direct evidence of the fact, that the Vernal Equinox was once in the Mrigasheersha. In the concluding chapter consideration is given to an allusion pointing to a period, when the Vernal Equinox was still further eastwards in the asterism Punarvasu and the mention of the time-limits of the three periods, *viz.*, the Krittika, the Mrigashirsha and the Punarvasu is repeated once more. Finally it is shown that the inferences drawn from this mass of knowledge are logically sound and consistent throughout.

This new proposition regarding the antiquity of the Vedas greatly bestirred the heads of the Western Scholars. Prof. Max Muller was at this time in his declining age and it was not, therefore, possible for him to refute the proposition, even if he had wished to do so. While some others did not care even to look into it, under the presumption that this astronomical method of investigation was quite inadmissible, and were frank enough to write to Tilak plainly to that effect. Some even wondered how such a questionable method could lead to such grand results. Several others could neither disprove the arguments put forward by Tilak nor did they like to give up their ground which they had held so firmly on time-honoured propositions. Prof. Jacobi alone had, by following different lines altogether, made an attempt

previously to carry the Vedic Age as far back as is done by Tilak. He was therefore overjoyed to find support so unexpectedly from the results arrived at by Tilak. He was even good enough to admit it in writing to Tilak, saying he felt confident that the truth of the proposition would gradually dispel old prejudices and finally get a firm footing for itself. On 22 Feb. 1894, Prof. Morris Bloomfield—Sanskrit Professor of the John Hopkins University—Baltimore, America—delivered a lecture on Oriental Learning, on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of that academy, when he gave utterance to the favourable impressions made on his mind by the *Orion*. The sound knowledge of Astronomy and the systematic method of presenting arguments which Tilak commended were both unique. His intellect was richly endowed with a sound logical faculty. From the very commencement of his career he had shown a marked proficiency in mathematics. In his college days Astronomy was included in the subject of mathematics and he was very lucky in having among his professors men of learning and research like the late Mr. Kerunana Chhatre. Even after leaving College he had kept up his study in that subject. The late Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dixit—one of the greatest of the renowned scholars in Astronomy was a friend of Tilak's and between them they always carried on an exchange of thoughts on that

subject. At the time of the publication of the *Orion* Mr. Dixit's work on "Bharatiya Jyotish Shastra" had not appeared, though its manuscript copy was scrutinized by Tilak. Mr. Dixit had accepted Tilak's propositions only generally. The points in which he had differed from Tilak have been already mentioned in some places in his book.

The Arctic Home of the Aryans—the other work of Tilak—is not conceived from or based on any astronomical idea like the *Orion*. Tilak was deeply conversant with the science of astronomy and was therefore quite competent to think independently in that subject. But for the compilation of this second work Tilak had to take his stand on the authority of some Geological propositions and had therefore to depend upon other writers for help in that subject. For this purpose he studied several books on Geology and took notes therefrom. But as he was himself, not ignorant, but inexpert in that subject, he could not feel fully confident in putting down any conclusive propositions based on the authority drawn from Geology. In modern times, in fact, on account of a fund of new knowledge having come to light regarding the several subdivisions of any science, they have grown into independent subjects by themselves. Besides, in studying any given subject one has, often, to obtain an amount of information from other unallied

subjects also. Luckily in Western Universities we find professors of different subjects working all together in the same place. This practice however does not obtain here in India. This had greatly hindered Tilak in his work of Research. But even under such circumstances nobody had ventured to call into question the soundness of the propositions which Tilak, though not himself a geologist, had deduced after a careful perusal of a number of books on that subject. These propositions do not, however, form the main topic of treatment in this work; it is the interpretation given to some verses from the Rigved and the conclusions he adduced from them showing that the original home of the ancient Aryans was in the regions of the North Pole.

Scientists have conclusively proved that the Polar regions of the North were habitable about 8000 B. C. But it was reserved for Tilak to bring to light conclusive evidence, which he did from Rigved and which none had discovered before in Geology, regarding the actual inhabitation of those regions by man. Since descriptions of Natural Phenomena in North Polar regions, are in abundance in the Rigved, it should have naturally been inferred, as did Tilak, that those Vedic Bards or their ancestors must have been dwelling in the very regions or thereabouts from where such phenomena could be

actually observed. This new idea not only threw fresh light on the Home of the ancient Aryans, but it also helped to substantiate the interpretations of some of the Verses of Rigved, which could not be properly interpreted before, or the interpretations of which, as given by the authors of the Bhashyas or the Niruktas, were not till then regarded as sufficiently convincing. Tilak says "this idea had occurred to me long before, but in the absence of any geological evidence to support me, I could not venture to give a pronounced utterance to any such proposition howsoever convincing to myself I believed it to be". This idea had suggested itself even to the Vedic Pandits of Iran. But the fact that the North Polar regions had, after the termination of the Glacial Period, again become habitable, had not been authenticated or warranted by Science, some 40 or 50 years before, and therefore even the Iranian Pandits could not feel firm ground under them to give publicity to their idea.

The Western scholars, on the other hand, on account of their sense of pride for the achievements of their own kith and kin, were not to feel deterred in accepting Geological propositions deduced by their own men in the field of research. But what earthly reason there was for them to feel proud or buoyant in regard to the propositions deduced from the very same sources,

which fixes the Vedic age so far back? The propositions put forward by Tilak were not accepted, like some of the Western scholars, even by Indian Pandits. And the reason of this also is nothing else than their pride or rather perverted pride. How can the Vedic Period, the Western scholars would argue, be more ancient than their own civilization or any other civilization known to them!! Whereas the Indian Pandits would say 'Even if the Vedic Period could be proved to be so older by following the lines of Tilak's argumentation, still we maintain that we Aryan people are born of this soil alone and are self-created; how could we have immigrated here from abroad!!" Be it as it may. It cannot be gainsaid that the credit of transferring the cradle of the Aryan race or at least of the progenitors of the Human race from the top of the Caucasus on to the beam on the North Polar regions, goes to Tilak and some other Western Pandits like Dr. Warren. This question is still bristling with many points open to doubt and discussion. But all the same the old and narrow notions about the question have received a tremendous shaking through this new theory advanced by Tilak.

This work of Tilak is divided into Thirteen chapters. In the first chapter Tilak points it out generally that, before the advent of modern science the Historical age

had its posterior limit placed rather towards the recent times, whereas now it has receded far backwards into the past, and that, on account of an incorrect interpretation and reading of the legends and allusions, what was once supposed to be only mythological or fanciful has after, the discoveries of science, naturally come to be regarded as Historical or true. By the progress of physical science the mythological literature has no doubt lost in importance, but on the contrary, the science of History has considerably gained in weight, and thus, on the whole, there is no real loss to count. The second chapter deals with the causes of the change of seasons, the different climatic changes in the ancient and modern age; why the climate of the North Polar regions was once in the past times hot, and how as the atmosphere gradually became cooler and cooler ultimately they were over-run by a flood rendering them uninhabitable; how later on the snow melted and the climate once again changed and became first mild and gentle, then temperate and finally hot again. Thus it is further proved that, if, from some descriptions of the natural phenomena given in the Rigved, one is led to entertain a belief that the N. Polar regions were, once in the remote times, actually inhabited by man, the fresh discoveries of science not only do not turn

down the idea as impossible, but on the contrary they go to support and substantiate it.

The third chapter gives a description of the Arctic regions. In the Inter glacial period the Arctic regions were characterized by warm winters and cool summers, *i.e.*, a sort of perpetual spring. There the sun rose in the south, the stars there never rose nor set, but remaining always above the horizon moved round and round once in twenty-four hours (from left to right). The Polar year consisted of one long day and one long night each of six months' duration. The phenomenon of sun-rise and sun-set occurred only once in a year and thus there was only one long continuous morning and one long continuous real evening in the whole year. The twilight consequently lasted for about two months each time and was not confined to the eastern or the western horizons only, but moved round and round over the whole of the horizon throughout. The phenomenon of the dawn in those parts was charmingly beautiful to behold and it persisted for several days continuously. After this description Tilak makes some preliminary remarks before proceeding to narrate what is mentioned in the Rigved regarding these phenomena. The fourth chapter gives us the following information. In the Rigved we find references about a day and a night of six months'

duration each obtaining in the polar regions and they are respectively called the day and the night of the Gods. The terms Devayâna and Pitrayâna which occur therein, must have reference to the ancient subdivisions of the year. Such ideas of a Night of the Gods and a Day of the Gods also occur not only in the literature of the Iranian civilization, which is contemporaneous with the Aryan civilization, as well as in the Parsi scriptures, but they are also to be met with in the traditions and myths of the Greek, Norse, German and other nations. From this fact it is further inferred that these ideas are not merely chimerical but are related to sufficiently intelligible and well-founded facts. In the fifth chapter is given a detailed description of the Vedic Dawn, and the passages and the verses relating to it, which occur in the Rig-Ved, are quoted in its support.

In the sixth chapter the description of the long day and the long night is given with quotations from the Vedic texts bearing on the subject. The seventh chapter treats of the months and the seasons showing thereby that the year once consisted of seven or ten months only—a truncated year— and it was made up of 5 seasons. Descriptions like these were supposed to have, till a very recent date, a mythological or legendary origin only. But by a series of logical inferences deduced from them Tilak has clearly shown that this

supposition is not only not erroneous, but on the contrary, it has in it a spark of historical truth, which could be realized only by those who inhabited these Arctic regions. Chapter eight shows how a consideration of the ceremonies connected with the sacrifice known as the Gavâm-Ayanam (Cow's walk) corroborates this idea of a year of 10 months. It further deals with the following topics:—i The duration of this sacrifice was 10 months. ii The Romans also had once a year of 304 days. iii The meaning of the word Gavâm is days. iv The shortness of the year can give rise to legends such as those which represent Vrittra stealing Indra's cows. As the European scholars could not exactly understand the nature of the several sacrifices based on the length of the year, and of the religious practices of the Aryans and also their astronomical computations in so far as they related to the peculiar usages of the Aryans, they found it very difficult to rightly interpret the religious literature of the Aryans and vi. How such mystic traditions came to be built about the wonderful phenomena visible in the Polar regions. The ninth chapter gives several mystic legends from the Vedas and especially the one relating to the constant war between Indra and Vrittra and it is therein shown that only by accepting the hypothesis of an Arctic Home this legend could be correctly and consistently interpreted. Tilak

has clearly shown that the legend about the war between Indra and Vrittra is not to be based on atmospheric phenomena like the clouds, rains and storms but on the unique phenomena of the deep dark nights of a continuously long duration followed by a bright day of an equally long duration; and since these phenomena can be visible only near the North Pole it is argued that the above legend has its origin only in the actual observation of such phenomena near about the poles. The tenth chapter gives an intelligible interpretation, on the same lines of thought, to the ideas about the three strides of Vishnu, the seven-fold or ten-fold division of things in the Vedic literature, the Dasharajna fight, the ten-mouthed Ravana etc. Chapter XI cites evidence or proofs from Zend Avesta, the religious scripture of the Parsis supporting this same line of argument. Chapter XII shows how these Vedic evidences relating to an Artic Home are corroborated by Western Legends and Myths by a consideration on the lines of comparative Mythology. Chapter the thirteenth summarises the theories and arguments advanced in the preceding chapters. A consideration of all the evidences so far brought forward, proves the existence of a Polar Aryan Home before 8000 years B. C., and the culture and the civilization of the Aryans dwelling in the Arctic Home as being the

oldest and of a very higher type. It must be admitted that such inferences deduced in connection with the Aryan races and the Aryan religion which had penetrated so far back into antiquity cannot but be very broad; and yet the opinions about the appearance of the Vedas and their nature, as disclosed by our Rishis and Acharyas have come out to be but true facts. The geological facts about the deluge and the subsequent revival of life bear out the idea about the destruction of the Vedas and their subsequent revival, not literally but in a metaphorical sense only, and this fact further leads one to accept the idea, in a metaphorical sense only, of the Vedas being beginningless or anâdi.

On comparing these two works—the *Orion* and the *Arctic Home* (the original home of the Aryan Races)—in point of their merits, it will strike anybody that while the former is more conclusive, the latter is more interesting and instructive. The line of argument and investigation followed in regard to the first of the two works is not altogether new to our oriental scholars, as it is to the Western scholars and that for the only reason that, they had not the least idea of the possibility of our people ever possessing any special knowledge of Astronomical Mathematics. The line of thought adopted in the second of the two works however was

new to the Westerners, but it was more particularly so to our Oriental people. A number of instances could be cited of various difficult words of the Vedas having been more correctly interpreted philologically by Western scholars than by our Bhâshyakâras. But to interpret these words in a way, that would be serviceable in solving the problem about the Original Home of the Aryans, was not such a simple matter with them. They were cognizant of the fact that astronomical mathematics formed a subdivision of the Vedic Literature. But they had not the slightest idea about the possibility of Vedic legends having any bearing on the facts related to Geological science. That the Oriental Pandits were quite strangers to this new view-point, goes without saying. The ordinary reader finds in the *Orion* rather a dry reading; such is not however the case with the other work—the *Arctic Home*. Here the reader is gradually led to light upon a number of fresh intellectual ideas in succession, which finally culminate in the presentation of a marvellous proposition, and if he has reached the fourth chapter he feels so fascinated by its perusal, that he cannot put down the book without going through it to the end. This second work excels the first, in point of language also, which, having been commended by the *Pioneer* as best suited to the subject-matter and as

faultless, needs no further remark in its praise.

But before concluding this chapter, we must give a reply in answer to a particular objection, which is raised in regard to both these works together. It is that, since Tilak should naturally be expected to have entertained as much sense of pride for his mother-tongue as he had for his mother-country which, in fact, Tilak had to a high degree for both, how was it that he wrote both these works in English instead of in Marathi. This objection can, in the first instance, be met with the assertion that, the question of a pride for this or that language is not at all involved in this case. For, it will be admitted, that by writing the works in English, Tilak could never have possibly intended to enrich the English language; nor could he possibly be supposed to be trying to make an impression thereby on his own people, about his command over the English language—for in fact as a writer, Tilak never liked to make the language purposefully graceful, nor to feel gratified only with its elegance. He always stuck to the truth that language should function only as a means for the expression of thought, but that thought should never be subservient to language. Just as a breeze of soft air never tarries about the balmy atmosphere of a flower, but gently flows forward with what

little fragrance it can tackle in its train by its motion, so it was with Tilak's writings. Take any one of his articles; it represented his thought, having the force of a gust of wind, which in its progress never lagged behind for a play of figures of speech. He regarded language as an unavoidable barrier and therefore he utilized it just in the form as it occurred to him along with his thoughts. It is true that the English language of these two works happens to be more elegant and graceful in style than that of his newspaper articles.

But that is simply for the reason that here his thoughts and language are completely in tune with each other. In writing for a newspaper one's mind is under the sway of some personal emotions and therefore words with either a harsh or soft touch flow into such writings accordingly. But this kind of influence has no place in the writing of these two works. Consequently, a reader, who is otherwise totally uninformed about Tilak's disposition, is by a perusal of these works, likely to be led to doubt if Tilak ever flew with a passion or ever used a biting language. In short Tilak never seems to be even cognizant of the fact that he was writing these works in the English language; on the contrary there is reason to suppose that at times he must have felt handicapped by having to write in a foreign language. While writing out these

books in the English language Tilak's heart was pulsating with the sentiment of pride, but it was not a personal element but a national one. Instead of inquiring about his motive in writing these books in English, if one were to inquire his motive in writing them at all, the answer to the latter would easily satisfy the former also. What is the chief problem that is sought to be solved by both of these works? It is none other than the establishment of the high antiquity of the Vedas.

And how did Tilak do this? In establishing this antiquity from what problems did he draw his authority? It was that the origin of Vedic civilization could be traced back 8000 years. But what was there in this high antiquity of the Vedas, for which the old Sanskrit scholars should feel a sense of joy and pride? Nothing. Because it was their time-honoured and indisputable belief that the Vedas were Anâdi—'Beginningless' and Apaurusheya—'not made by man', and therefore even if a period of 8000 years may strike modern thinkers as an achievement, it would imply that the Vedas are endowed with a beginning—Sâdi and are man-made—Paurusheya; and this would, therefore, to the old pandits be possibly a matter for feeling regret rather than for feeling proud and joyful. Any fanatic Pandit could have passed the remark that, by applying the tests of a

critic and the compass of time to the Vedas—the Divine breath exhaled by the Almighty God—and thus by encompassing them within small limits Tilak had only blasphemed God. How can those people, who believe that the Aryan race has been self-existent in this Bharat Khand, hail with satisfaction this achievement of Tilak by which he removed the original home of the Aryan race outside the limits of this Land. Tilak also must have been aware of this attitude.

It was, therefore, we may suppose, that in the last chapter of the second book Tilak has diverted himself into the side attempt of making the Beginningless Vedas consistently appear to be at the same time encompassed by the limits of antiquity. But, if the readers were to realize how great an impression would be made on the Western Scholars if an antiquity of 8000 years be established beyond question for the Vedas, as Tilak has done, then only the secret of his having undertaken to write the books in English, would not take long to flash upon them. It should not be forgotten that an ardent desire of attaining success was one of the principal factors of national emotions and that he had intended to secure that victory for the Oriental Civilization in its struggle for supremacy with the Occidental civilization, by

means of the theories worked out in these two books. Tilak could have written a vast deal more of this literature on the subject in Marathi, but then how and why should have the Western Pandits read it? But as both of these works were written in English it just became possible for the European as well as the American scholars to read them and to be convinced of the great secret conveyed through them. It is of course quite a different matter if the perusal of the book had the effect of tickling the palate of some or of lacerating the hearts of others.

The arguments advanced by us, in the foregoing pages in the 5th chapter of this book, in justification of the publication of the Maratha as a supplement to the *Kesari*, will in general be equally serviceable in connection with this question also. By writing these works in English Tilak had wished to secure a place of respect and honour in the esteem of the English People, not for any personal glorification but only for the Triumph of the Indian Nation. As the Marathi translations of both the works have now been published, they have served to satisfy the curiosity of the Marathi readers also. It would have been quite inexpedient to have written the works in Marathi in the first instance and then to have them rendered into English; besides in view of the primary

object of the author in bringing out these two works, such a course would never have been immediately fruitful or effective

CHAPTER XXVIII

RESURGAM

IT has already been seen that Tilak's health had much deteriorated owing to the hardships of jail-life. Though certainly he could bear any amount of physical worry, he was after all a small-statured man of no great strength; his weight too varied round about 135 lbs. While he was in jail it had dropped down to 105. Even in the Yeravda jail, supposed as he was to have improved, the figure did not go beyond a hundred and a baker's dozen. That state of his health made it evident that he was in urgent need of rest and nutrition. There was of course no dearth of tonic food but what was wanting in his house was rest and physical quietude. His house was always crowded with persons visiting it on some errand or other; and now, to add to the crowd, there poured through his wide-open doors a host of his admirers, well-wishers, friends and followers. Every one of the visitors, more particularly those that were near and dear, itched for learning the history of Tilak's jail-life, even to the crosses of the t's and the dots of the i's. But obviously, to satisfy the hunger of all those people was impossible for Tilak. Perforce he must have had to pass his

days in imprisonment with a vow almost of complete silence. Surely he must have felt to have paid the penalty for his fault of taciturnity after his release in a more than full measure, by his iteration and re-iteration of the details of his life in Mandalay. Soon after his release, the scorching October heat supervened. Under the stress of those circumstances, the signs of his fallen health at last grew so portentous that all his friends and co-workers resolved that he should go up to Sinhgad for mental and physical relief.

It is believed that the native climate is particularly bracing and salubrious to a man's broken constitution. For certain, Sinhgad was not the birth-place of Tilak. But his love of the place and the physical wants of his body invested the fort with a peculiar charm and utility. He always liked to have round him quite a family of companions for conversation and discussion; but whenever he thirsted for recreation,he used to hide himself in solitude. Unquestionably, Mahabaleshwar possessed a very cool climate, but for Tilak there was too much of foppery and ostentation at Mahabaleshwar, in addition to its being far removed from Poona. Those reasons induced Tilak to plump for and fix Sinhgad as his sanatorium. One of his favourite sayings was, that every educated person should take a respite for some days during

the year, far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife or far from the world's harsh, heart-wearying roar. He had a plan in his mind to build a small bungalow on Sinhgad where professors of the Fergusson College might stay by turns either for rest of mind or for recuperation of health. The scheme, of course, did not materialize in his professorial regime, but he fulfilled his desire when he was independently established. His friend Daji Abaji Khare and he himself purchased a small patch of land on the fort and set up a thatched house in which both the families passed their summer-days. A cool climate suited Tilak's constitution well; so much so that even in the noon of winter which drew out from rich persons' ward-robes their woolen wear, Tilak could, without any inconvenience, shift for himself with a single loose cotton shirt. Except when he was out of doors or barring certain special occasions, in summer-tide he was always bare of any cloth. That way of life suffered no change on the high level of Sinhgad. He passed his whole Sinhgad season with only a cap and a shirt. In fact, it might be said that he enjoyed the stay on Sinhgad not only because the climate was health-giving and cool, but also because any trace of artificial life found no quarter over there.

We might give many more reasons in that strain for Tilak's choice of that place.

Doubtless, the summer-resort of Sinhgad carried with it the opportunity of exchanging words with the historic tribes of the Mawalas; the fort too, of once the scene of one of the most splendid fights, was beloved of Shivaji. The whole atmosphere,in brief, hanging over the fort, together with its environments, touched the patriotic chord in every Maharashtriya mind. That confluence of reasons might have contributed to direct Tilak's gaze on those ramparts. But it would certainly be an exaggeration to attribute the selection wholly to such a grand set of the thrilling associations of Sinhgad. Tilak sojourned in that historic fortress unsurrounded by his royal entourage; and while he walked with the full consciousness of perfect freedom, there shone in his face such an extraordinary lustre as could not but attract to itself the casual eye of an observant stray spectator. What we say here is amply borne out by the beautiful description given by Mr. Nevinson in 1907, both of the historic fort and its historic resident.

In this way, October and November rolled by. His health was so far recouped that he could, without much exertion, go down and walk up half the ascent to Sinhgad. Of work he had little there to do. Some of his friends, of their own accord, went up to him for holding talks with him

by way of amusement and some others Tilak himself would call up. Many people must have seen a photograph of Tilak as he was before his incarceration and as he came out from the jail ; and they must have noticed how the former Tilak was hale of body and limb and how the latter turned out to be a reduced shadow of the former. When he was released, the picture of Tilak with cheek sunken, face greyed, lips shrivelled and feet knocking against each other, must have been engraved on the tablet of many a tender heart, but a month or more of rest changed all that and almost rallied the good and sound health that was his by nature.

The leisure that Tilak enjoyed at Sinhgad was verily a prelude to the arduous task ahead. In December the Indian National Congress was held in Madras to which Tilak was invited. He was also elected to the subjects committee. The fact that as usual he did not deliver a speech in the course of the session, gave rise to various criticisms from his opponents. The absence of any speech from him also lent momentum to the spread of the suspicion that Tilak had given an undignified undertaking to the Government in jail. How else could Tilak hold his tongue when he was just released and was present in the Congress! The off-hand answer to that question was that he

had ignominiously bound himself over to be silent. Some alleged that the people themselves did not wish Tilak's coming into the Congress pandal. Some compared his being in the Congress to "the skeleton at the feast," recently resurrected. Some others hung up the non-attendance of stalwarts like Pherozeshah Mehta on the peg of the presence of a seditious man like Tilak. Some few expressed their joyous fear egged on by their ardent wish, that Tilak would have to show cause to the Government why he should not be prosecuted for breach of the conditions which, of course, were the figments of their diseased imagination. The rest believed that Tilak very much wanted to have his say from the rostrum of the Congress but its organizers did not permit it for fear of the Government.

But evidently that imagery was the offspring of *malice prepens* and had no foundation in truth of any kind whatsoever. Some of those allegations were cancelled by others of the same tribe. Mr. Chambers, the editor of the *Champion* of Bombay, contradicted the statement about Mehta. A few of the malicious suppositions were so puerile and preposterous in nature that their very mention meant their refutation. As Tilak had journeyed down to Rameshwar from Madras, he could not have any knowledge of the happenings in the Congress-world. On the

way, however, a representative of the *South Indian Post* interviewed him and gave him to understand what had passed in the public movement since the close of the Congress session. Tilak, too, finding that opportunity good enough for giving the public his own explanation, improved it for the purpose. He said, "Not that anybody prevented me from opening my lips in the Congress; on the contrary, many even pressed me to say at least a few words. I did not consent only because when once my speech was published, there would be quite an attack of invitations for public speaking which, on account of my indifferent health, I could not be able to cope with. The correspondent further asked him as to his future programme. Tilak's brief but forceful reply was "I will continue to do hereafter what I had been doing before this." That Tilak did carry out every word of this pregnant sentence is a matter that needs no proof now.

Well, when Tilak decided to go to Madras for the Congress, Madras and Bengal papers expressed their joy at his intention. In Madras Tilak was lodged in a historic building on the beach. It is said that it was built in the time of Lord Clive. In 1898, it was in the possession of a reputed solicitor, Bilgiri Iyengar. He received Tilak in the most hospitable way. The editor of the *Lucknow Advocate* and Tilak's close friend,

Pandit Ganga Prasad Varma, had also put up with Tilak. During his Madras stay many entertainments were given and functions held in honour of his arrival. One of it deserved special reference, namely the dinner given by Maharashtriyan colonists in Madras in the house of Rajah Sir T. Madhavrao. On that occasion, discussion also was carried on as to the methods by which Marathi language could be maintained and enriched in provinces other than Maharashtra. The son of Sir T. Madhavrao presented to Tilak a gold chain worn by his father, as a souvenir. Tilak was invited to pay visits to the temples of the Smarthas as well as of the Vaishnavas. Before leaving Madras, Tilak on his part gave a return party, as it were, to which were called prominent editors, notable pleaders and erudite Pandits like Professor Rangachariar.

In that connection, it might be remarked in passing, that in those comparatively unadvanced times, even educated professors and editors with long shining titles and tails to their names, could not exhibit intrepidity of thought and courage of convictions enough to subjugate the tyrant custom of that province of the Smarthas and Vaishnavas not dining together. It was, therefore, arranged that all the Aiyers, *i.e.*, Smarthas should take for themselves the whole of the ground floor, reserving the upper story

for all the Iyengars, *i. e.*, Vaishnavas. Though that difficulty was got over by assignment of separate halls, there was a hitch as regards the servers also. The batch that worked among one party was untouchable to the other. The friends and followers of Tilak who had accompanied him thither had therefore to divide themselves into different relays for helping the religious Gulfs and the Ghibellines of Madras. There is no doubt that, along with the Congress, Tilak visited many cities of note in India. But he had never undertaken a tour for tour's sake. He had certainly a faint desire to make a short pleasure-trip for the sake of his health. After the Congress, in the fag-end of 1898, he went as far as Ceylon in the South. From Madras he travelled to Madura. In a bullock-cart he drove to Rameshwar thence; and from Rameshwar he went to Ceylon. He returned to Poona in February 1899.

He took his next journey towards the close of 1899 after the termination of the Lucknow Congress. Then he visited Burma. May be he wandered at that time through the streets of Mandalay, because he might not get an opportunity to witness the life in the city itself, though half a dozen life-long years of his life were pre-destined to run within the precincts of that city! That second journey was undertaken, not so much from personal liking as from the pressure of his friend,

Kashinathpant Chhatre, the famous Maharashtriyan Circus Manager. Every ordinary person knows that between the years 1908 and 1914 Tilak was kept in the prison-house in Mandalay and that, after his liberation he had again gone to Colombo on his way to England. But even aged people are unacquainted with those previous visits of Tilak both to Burma and to Ceylon. Chronologically, the second trip of Tilak, by the end of 1899, must find place in the next volume of this biography. It has to be taken into account, however, that though those two trips were divided by the space of a few months, there was one thread of common purpose running through them. In all his succeeding years Tilak never allowed himself the luxury of such pleasure-trips; and besides, Tilak himself summarized the history of those journeys together in a lecture in Poona. For all those reasons it would be appropriate to stitch them together in this volume. Tilak delivered an extensive address about his travels under the auspices of the *Spring Lecture Series* in 1900. Ten years after, Mr. H. R. Bhagwat gave that lecture a neat book-form which, unfortunately for the young people, is to-day out of print.

During his life, full of political vicissitudes, Tilak indeed travelled almost through the length and breadth of India. But not on a single occasion except that one he made his

tour a text either for an article or for a public utterance. That lecture therefore has hanging about it a more than ordinary significance. It is a mirror we can hold up to our face to see how, in the course of his travels, he observed the society of the parts he visited in its social, religious, industrial and political aspects. In the opening part of his lecture under reference he has thus decribed his view-point. " Travel in provinces other than our own is an instrument which teaches us to compare the states of society of those provinces, their customs and their manners with our own and to draw conclusions therefrom. It is a liberal education to spend a few days in other provinces and carefully observe the differing societies in all their bearings. That experience unfailingly gives a tone and a direction to our own ways of thinking."

From Madras, Tilak paid flying visits to Kumbhakonam, Tanjore and Trichinopoly and had even made a detour to Pondicherry. One can easily realise what grand effects must have been produced on Tilak's mind by the sight of the gorgeous and stupendous temples of Madras along with their tall steeples and spires that stood sentinels over the adjoining space. He described those scenes in his lecture thus: "None can conceive the pristine splendour and the magnificent extent of Hinduism and its temples without

having witnessed in person these superb edifices. Who will then dare to say that these will not serve as instruments to cement and keep alive the spirit of unity that is supremely inherent among the Hindus ?"

In Tanjore live the successors of those Maratha gentlemen who had gone over, bag and baggage, along with Vyankoji Maharaj. It was quite in keeping with Tilak's frame of mind at the thought of those Maharashtriya survivors, a thrill of patriotism shot through his veins. Proudly did he observe, "It is really deserving of high commendation that these scions of Maharashtriyan families should have retained such unyielding love for and pride in Marathi language, though they have passed more than two centuries of years in the midst of Hindu societies speaking different dialects. The fact bears testimony to the quality of the Maharashtriyans of keeping their individuality ungarbled or unpolluted in unfavourable circumstances. The day indeed is not far off when all the Panchdravid Brahmins will marry amongst themselves. I feel it to be deeply injurious to the Hindu society not to revive the now suppressed practice of forming marital and other domestic relationships with those of our brothers who were naturalised in Tanjore."

Tilak felt great satisfaction when he saw the undiminished faith of Madrasis in their

religion and their extreme regard for the maintenance of the old religious observances, in spite of their contact with Englishmen of a longer duration than that of people on the western side. From the right of the subjects of Pondicherry to elect two representatives in the French Legislature though English was not much in use, Tilak inferred that there was little connection between English language and the form of administration. Journey to Ceylon in those days was neither so comfortable nor so speedy as it is to-day. The railway terminated at the harbour of Tuticorin from which place it took nearly 45 hours to sail to Colombo. About the Sinhalese people, Tilak has to say this, "A people who had lived for no less than 300 years under the oppressive domination of Christian missionaries could not, in the nature of things, be better or more happily circumstanced. Late marriage, inter-religious marriage, absence of caste-system, non-vegetarianism, drunken-ness, these were rampant among the people. There was not a streak of pride in their religion left in them. Why? Their very sense of self-respect was buried fathoms deep! To my mind, the resuscitation of that instinct of love of their own country and their own manners must be the first task to which all their social reformers must address themselves. It was indeed a sign of returning sanity

and sound mental health that they had just begun to acquire some knowledge of Buddhism and to think that to Christianise their social institutions and customs meant death to them. Movement was afoot among them to replace their borrowed Christian wear by the adoption of the Buddhist fashion of apparel." The commercial decadence of Ceylon, too, did not escape the observation of Tilak as was proved by his remark that, though the agricultural and mineral wealth of Ceylon was prodigious, the people themselves, being by nature indolent and susceptible of easy satisfaction, it was enriching the foreigners, while the country itself was, step by step, decaying.

After the Congress of 1899, Tilak went to Burma *via* Calcutta. The whole steamer having been reserved for the Circus company of Chhatre, Tilak's voyage was perfectly pleasant and without the least inconvenience. He passed nearly three weeks in Burma, *i.e.* in Rangoon and Mandalay. He found there Indian merchants belonging to all castes, preserving all the customs that their castes enjoined upon them. About it Tilak remarked, "The example of the thousands of Hindus who had gone as far as Burma, Siam, Singapore, Java and such other places proved that the maintenance of a man's caste or religion was a matter entirely resting in his own hands; and it also established

the fact that, provided a man had a sufficient quantum of pride in his professed religion, it cannot, indeed it did not, stand in the way of foreign travel for the sake of commercial undertakings or such other purposes.

Whenever the question of precedence between political reform and social reform came to the front for debating, Tilak used often the instance of Burma. Needless to observe that it was this journey of his that confirmed Burma in his mind as an example to decide the point at issue. In his lecture also he put forth this very view in the following words: " All the reforms like absence of caste-division, freedom of religion, education of women, late marriages, widow-remarriage, system of divorce, on which some good people of India are in the habit of harping *ad nauseam* as constituting a condition precedent for the introduction of political reforms in India, had already been in actual practice in the province of Burma. But history told us that the existence of all these social reforms did not prevent or mitigate the feeling of mutual hatred among the Burmese, nor aroused in them sufficient respect for themselves, the result of which was the destruction of the kingdom of King Theeba. When we compare the state of society on our side with the state of society that obtains in Burma, the question suggests itself to our mind, *viz*., to what extent social reform is

important from the political point of view? The Burmese might have been conquered by the English for certain reasons. But though their social circumstances were entirely propitious in the opinion of many, there was not evident among them an ardour of feeling for their religion, their country or their trade, to a degree which they had led people to expect in them. Thus, we arrive at the conclusion that there is no inherent connection or relation of cause and effect between social reform and earnestness about national regeneration! On the contrary, there is a possibility of opposition between them."

"Let me make it clear here, once for all, that I am not in the least unfavourable to social reform. It is certainly designed to do away with certain secondary domestic difficulties and it may, in the end, benefit in some measure our society as a whole. But it is borne in upon us by the situation of the Sinhalese and Burmese that the opinion of some wise persons about the indispensability of social reform for national or industrial advancement of our country, is entirely wrong and misformed. Far different are the virtues necessary for the development of a nation. Love of one's country, forgetfulness of petty differences, inclination and habit to work unitedly for the country, energy for the acquisition of industrial knowledge of foreign

lands, anxiety for the maintenance of national individuality—these may be cited as some of the virtues. The rise or suppression of them is not dependent on the existence or non-existence of social reform of a particular type. These qualities may likely be conspicuous by their absence in that very society which may show the highest degree of temperature in the social thermomeer. When we once bring before our eyes the example of Burma, we have to speak of the gross error of those misguided people who have thought fit to give social reform the place of pride in every kind of civilisation."

"As I have said before, the virtues required for national uplift are quite apart from and independent of social reform, and the ways of developing them among the people are similarly different too. If we are bent upon dragging India out of the morass of dependence, we must begin to work in that direction. Some European writers also have sought to advise us to bring about social reform as a preparation for political reform. But it is human nature that this piece of precept should stand suspect till we see with our own eyes what kind of political reform is given to Burma which is socially in a position to deserve it. Some English officials plead the absence of military traditions or any deeds of bravery, in defence of their refusal to grant certain political

rights to the Bengalese. We know that when we demand the same rights for the Sikhs, the Maharattas or the Rajputs, in which case of course this excuse cannot be put forth, another excuse is ready up their sleeve. We ought never to forget that the praises that are sung to social reform and the advice ladled out to us are of no better contents than the above excuse, and equally delusive." We have given an extensive summary of Tilak's views on that subject, inasmuch as a long controversy raged over it once in Maharashtra and as the views that are often supplied to the public are given in quite a shoddy and misleading form.

This account makes it manifest that the journeys of Tilak were not merely sentimental journeys but conducted in a spirit of searching enquiry and healthy curiosity about the men and manners of those parts of the country he included in his visits. He was always ready to put before local leaders his own impressions about their province with a view to modify them and to correct them after holding conversations with them. In his travels in Ceylon and Burma, he acted upon this very method and his views and inferences being thus tested on the touchstone of experience and authority, were very unlikely to be disproved by actualities or repudiated by facts, as entirely false or mistaken.

The story, however, of Tilak's tours must end here. Tilak's release from jail, six months prior to the conclusion of his term, had the effect of putting up the backs of certain Anglo-Indian newspapers. Some had even gone to the length of insinuating that the difference between Tilak's sedition and the murder committed by Chafekar was no more than between six of the one and half a dozen of the other. The *Globe* had, audaciously enough, cast apersions on the Indian National Congress also, because it could be attended by men like Tilak and Gokhale. Hardly had the sound of that kind of criticism vanished in the distance of time when some more murders too were committed. Those were the murders of the two Dravid brothers. The horrid event was like a match to the train of mischievous comments that was already laid in the papers like the *Times of India* for blowing up the stronghold of patriotism which was being built up in Maharashtra. The youngest of the Chafekar brothers, Vasudev, was arrested in connection with the murders and his elder brother also, Balkrishna, was clapped by the heels immediately after. May we not remark here in passing that, though Balkrishna had preceded Vasudeo in this world, for once in his life the younger brother was the earlier born in jail and the elder had only to follow him! In the third week of January, 1899, Bal-

krishna was committed to the sessions. Tilak had then just returned from his South India tour and had conceived, as was his wont, a new series of articles for the *Kesari* on some chosen subjects. At that very time the Dravid brothers succumbed to the revolver-shots which, while remorselessly taking the life out of their unfortunate victims, gave a new life and vigour to the animus burning in the hearts of certain Anglo-Indian papers against Tilak for the before-time closure of his incarceration. All the venomous attacks on Tilak and all the endeavours to establish a connection between him and the Poona murders, far from breaking the intrepid bones of Tilak, left him with his withers absolutely unwrung and his behaviour as unmodified as ever. Out of those vain and malignant attempts of the Anglo-Indian papers arose the case against the *Globe*. We have, therefore, to go a little deep into that episode.

The news of Rand's murder by Chafekar brothers was first broken in public by Dravid brothers who, it would be surprising to learn, were their chums. Those two families resided quite within a stone's throw from each other, and those brothers were intimately familiar with the ways and doings of every one of them. When the names of offenders in the Rand murder case were divulged, one of the Dravid

brothers, by name Ganesh, was His Majesty's guest for forgery. Damodar Chafekar was arrested at the instance of Ganesh who was let off from jail after Damodar had been hanged. Ganesh was awarded half the prize of Rs. 20,000 announced for the purpose of finding out Rand's murderers. The Government might have withheld the second alotment of the prize till the discovery of the second Chafekar brother. Dravid had no patience and he openly complained that he ought to receive the whole prize, as he was the first in the field with the news and that it was the fault of the police that, while Damodar was put in chains Balkrishna could abscond. He also made a grievance of the deduction of Rs. 260 as income tax by the Government from his income on Rs. 10,000. Writing on that subject on the 7th February 1899, the *Kesari* ridiculed the miserliness of the Government and supported the demand of Dravid. At the same time, the paper had challenged the Government to publish and substantiate before the bar of the public, the information supplied by Dravid. In the case against Damodar, Dravid was examined as a witness; but there was no explanation as to how he whispered the secret to the Government and what exactly the confident news was. It was indeed a rare irony of fate, that when the question of prize was under legal discussion the Dravid brothers themselves had to

offer their very lives as a prize to the God of Death!

This was how it happened. On the 8th of February, 1899, some two persons arrived at the doors of Dravid brothers at night and informed them in Hindustani that they were called up by Mr. Bruin. Dravid brothers got down from the staircase and all the four passed by the corner at the temple known by the name of 'Khunya Murlidhar' ('avenging flute-bearer'). Just at that moment pistol-shots were heard and also cries of "Police, Police." The two Dravid brothers fell down wounded and died on the following day in the hospital. The murderers ran away in the opposite drections. The news spread throughout the city like wild-fire. Pickets were placed around the city, and even railway passengers were searched. Thus was the echo of the murders committed twenty months since in Ganeshkind heard in the city itself. The police called up the youngest of the Chafekar brothers, Vasudev, and two of his friends to the police court. When he was being questioned by the police sub-inspector, Vasudev got enraged and drawing out a pistol from beneath his shirt, fired first at the sub-inspector and then at Mr. Bruin. He was instantly held up, and fetters were laid upon his legs. Both Vasudev and his friend confessed that they had committed the murders of Dravid brothers. Vasudev also confessed that he thought

it discreet to commit suicide rather than stand in the witness-box against his own brother, Balkrishna, and that therefore he had decided to murder them as well as shoot himself.

In that inconceivable manner the murders of Dravid brothers were traced and the offenders also, fortunately for the police, put themselves in jail. But as the Anglo-Indian papers saw one murder arising out of another like one sprout multiplying itself, their suggestion of a conspiracy waxed fat and like Jeshuram began kicking. Those papers argued that it was the *Kesari* of 7th February that had incited those murders. This innuendo, however, gained absolutely no force from the evidence tendered either by the Chafekar brothers or their accomplice ; nor was proof ever likely to come from any quarter. On the 13th of March, the Chafekar brothers and their friend were sentenced to death and all three bore the capital punishment in a most heroic spirit. Taking advantage again of the praise bestowed upon Vasudev and his friend in the *Mahratta*, the Anglo-Indian papers calumniated Tilak. The *Champion* of Bombay, infuriated by some articles that had appeared in the *Kal*, challenged Tilak to disown the paper. But there was no cause for Tilak to undertake that extraneous and distant responsibility, and more than for a man called

to cross a bridge before himself coming to it. He flung away the challenge in disdain. Far from condemning the *Kal*, the *Kesari* did not hesitate to openly admire the virtue of uncommon boldness possessed by Vasudev and his comrades. The rashness of the anti-Tilak party in proposing to boycott the editor of the *Kal* had the adverse effect of softening the attitude of those who had thought it right to condemn the murders outright. That tendency was also not a little assisted by the endeavours of the political agent Mr. Aston to throw the whole responsibility of such murders solely on all newspapers indiscriminately in a lecture which he delivered in Poona. The question of Tilak's responsibility was thus dissipated into nothingness simply by the irresponsibility and exaggeration of his opponents. Excess of the thing signed its own death-warrant; the opponents of Tilak overshot themselves; the bow drawn or strung much too tightly broke down without hitting the mark!

We have already seen that Tilak's release from jail before the appointed time had turned the stomach of many an Anglo-Indian newspaper. They had continued to indulge in the game of attacking Tilak in the face or in the back and to anyhow connect his name with the idea of murders. Towards the end of the year 1899, the appointment of Lord Northcote as the Governor of Bombay in

succession to Lord Sandhurst was gazetted. It was the custom with such nominees to publish their opinions even in England, and with the British newspapers to do the duty of giving them gratuitous advice. Among such newspapers the *Globe* figured rather prominently and in its issue of the 20th October, 1899, it advised Lord Northcote to carefully watch the activities of the Brahmins who were supposed to have been fired with the hope of re-establishing the Mahratta rule. The paper also pointed out to him that in the Bombay Presidency there was quite a net-work of revolutionary organisations, and that, though perhaps Tilak might not be closely related to them, his incarceration had positively given them a set-back. Those remarks of the *Globe* were quoted by the *Times of India* in its issue of 18th November, as a sample of public opinion in England. As soon as the passage fell under Tilak's eye, he decided to sue the *Times* for defamation ; and immediately on the 23rd the defamation suit was filed in the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. Sir Perozeshah Mehta was given Tilak's brief in consideration of the then famous controversy between the *Champion* of Bombay on the one hand and the *Kesari* and the *Kal* on the other. The Chief Presidency Magistrate tried probably to waylay Mehta by asking him whether Tilak was not prosecuted for sedition. But Mehta smote the

Magistrate hip and thigh by means of the confession of the Advocate General himself in Tilak's case. Mr. Slater, the Magistrate, only proved himself to be a type of persons who in those times were credulous or foolish enough to see no distinction between murder and sedition.

The English journalists seemed to be as ready to publish defamatory matters in their columns as also to make apologies for the same. They had made apologies almost their current coin. As soon as the news of the suit was in the air, the *Times* published its apology in which it was clearly stated that the publication of the passage was an editorial oversight, that the opinion of the *Globe* was quite different from its own opinion and that the remarks made in the passages were unjust and insupportable. All the same the plaint began to be heard on the 8th of December, when again the counsel of the defendant offered the same apology and requested the suit to be withdrawn. On the contrary, Tilak's counsel told the Court that the suit was filed, because there was a regular compaign of calumniating Tilak, which had made it necessary to finally end the controversy in an authoritative and legal manner. Tilak was himself present in the Court and Mehta challenged any one to put him under oath and cross-examine him in the open Court and not to throw at him their poison-

ous shafts from behind unassailable barricades. But the challenge was not accepted by any body. Tilak was not examined at all and the Magistrate, doling out goodness to both sides, expressed his gladness and asked the case to be withdrawn.

The secondary offender, so to say, of Tilak was thus quits with Tilak. The primal culprit remained unscathed. The plaint against the *Globe* must be lodged in England and the legal case there was a costly and arduous affair which could not be lightly undertaken. In the first place, the *Globe* was served with a notice which it scornfully flung away; and it refused to apologise. Tilak had then necessarily to take the further logical step. Through his solicitors in London the fighting in the London High Court was begun. It was arranged that the money for that case should be taken from the Tilak fund already collected, which would be recouped from the costs and compensation to be received from the *Globe*, if the case were decided in favour of Tilak. Tilak's solicitors in London wrote to him in their letter of the 30th of March advising him to engage a very renowned Barrister and also warning him that the costs of the case would be enormous.

The whole preparation for the case was made up and Tilak too had made ready to go to England as the complainant. Things,

however, did not reach that stage. For, by the prudential advice of its counsel the *Globe* thought discretion to be the better part of valour and agreed to tender an apology. On the 20th of June, 1900, the suit was regularly filed and as compensation a sum of Rs. 75,000 was demanded. The *Globe*, on its part, asked a security of £100 to be taken from Tilak and got the hearing postponed till November for collection of evidence. But from nowhere could any evidence come. If it were available, to be sure, the *Times* would not have submitted the humiliating apology, nor would the Government have contented themselves with prosecuting Tilak for sedition only, instead of bringing against him the charge of participation in revolutionary activities or criminal conspiracies.

When the managers of the *Globe* were thus disappointed in scraping together any kind of evidence in support of the defamatory statements published in their paper against Tilak, they came to terms with him. The descent from the Olympus which the *Globe* posed to occupy when the case was first launched, down to the plain of offering apology to Tilak was, however, gradual. First, the paper tried for the withdrawal of the case on the payment of the costs. Then £50 more were added to the offer; and lastly when it was convinced that it was sure to break its head if it persisted in the case, it finally thought fit to

offer apology also. It was by those steps that the paper at last came to its senses. It was decided that the terms of apology were to be dictated by Tilak himself. But Tilak, in the extreme nobility of his heart and sportsmanship in public behaviour, refused to take a hand in the painful task of humiliating his enemy. The solicitors of Tilak had had to perform, in those circumstances, the duty of drafting the apology. The draft was sent to the solicitors of the *Globe* and in the covering letter they had expressed the wish of Tilak that, though he himself would not like to frame the apology he would warn the British newspapers that thereafter, they should not dare to dash off articles about India on such meagre and half-baked information, despite perhaps the fact of their motives in doing so being pure and high. That apology of the *Globe* was published in a prominent place in the issue of 24th November, 1900. Its publication put the lid on the *Globe* affair. The journalistic pranks of the Anglo-Indian newspapers against Poona Brahmins had become so excessively mischievous and so enormously execrable that it was not only in the fitness of things but essential to place an effective curb on them. Such a curb was put by that affair by a Poona Brahmin himself who, by common consent, was easily allowed to be the head of the whole offended community. It was said that when justice Ranade heard of

the apology he was surrounded by prominent persons belonging to his party, to whom he was said to have exclaimed in a fit of joy, as it were " Lo, look at Tilak ! Tilak may have his defects, but his virtue of taking a task to its fulfilment without intermission is really worthy of imitation. It pains me to find that persons of our party lack this virtue."

A public leader is said to be a public property in the sense that he is not master of himself, nor of his time. He knows no rest, nor any furlough after his public service for a definite period of time. From the commencement of his career as a man of public importance, his mill has to work in double shifts, day and night, week in and week out, from year's end to year's end. As the days of a poet are poetically described to be bound together by a kind of filial piety, so are the hours, the minutes, even the seconds of a great public leader of the eminence and versatality of Tilak chained together as it were, by an unbroken series of golden links of public service. During the whole of his life-time Tilak found no leisure to enjoy. Perhaps it was in the years 1898-1899 that he might be said to have got some sort of respite. The famous Tai Maharaj case began in 1901 and since that time he was so completely lost in the mazes of the case that he could not get out of them almost till his death. He was very near *being laid low* by the very first shock of

that case, but he was acquitted in a criminal case; and thereafter all his legal fights from the lowest court right up to the Privy Council formed, as it were, an ascending ladder of hard-won triumphs. The last of those victories was won on the very first day of his illness, which, in the end, carried him off as a victim. For long twenty-one years the Tai Maharaj case had continued to give him much worry and more anxiety; and in fighting it to the last in a heroic and undaunted spirit that was unfailingly evident in all his political activities, he had spent himself to such an extent that we might be tempted to attribute the shortening of his life to that supreme care which is reputedly cruel enough to kill even a cat.

From 1902–1903 the Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon gave rise to a conflagration of political agitation throughout the length and breadth of India. In the opening days of that wide-spread and intensive commotion Tilak certainly occupied the position of only a provincial leader. But soon afterwards by his tearing and raging propaganda against the Bengal partition, the sphere of his influence extended far and wide, so much so that he came to hold the paramount position of an all-India leader. Tilak wore that crown to the last moment of his life; and as days advanced and his political activities assumed a campaigning terrorism for the

British rulers, the crown shone over his head with increasing lustre and crescent splendour. The Tai Maharaj case and the Bengal partition thus kept him continually preoccupied. Before, however, taking a plunge into the maelstrom of those activities, we might well give the readers a little relaxation by reviewing in brief some domestic history of Tilak's life.

Between 1891 and 1899, Tilak used to stay in Sardar Vinchurkar's house. Srimant Bala-Saheb Vinchurkar had a high regard for Tilak. Both the owner and the tenant lived together on such terms of great familiarity that at times the tenant himself became the informal counsel of the owner. Sardar Vinchurkar never asked Tilak to leave his house; till Tilak himself had to vacate it, he kept it entirely at his disposal. Tilak's law-class found a room for itself in that house and public functions such as the Ganpati festival were held in the open space of Vinchurkar's Wada. Till 1897, Princes who were acquainted with Tilak and his colleagues in the Bombay Legislative Council freely came to him in that period, probably because Tilak was not considered to be the stormy petrel, as he was thereafter, and could pass their days with him without exposing themselves to the gratuitous suspicion of the Government which had become especially susceptible where Tilak was nearly

or remotely connected. It need not be mentioned that things took quite the opposite turn after 1897. The *Kesari* office was maintained between 1891 and 1897 in the Arya Bhushan press. After the prosecution of Tilak, that office was removed to the Vinchurkar Wada where D. V. Vidwans put it in working order. But as the whole of the actual printing work of the paper was done in an outside press, the so-called office consisted mainly of two editors, Messrs. N. C. Kelkar and K. P. Khadilkar and the Manager, D. V. Vidwans assisted by a clerk or two. Even the pecuniary transactions were practically non-existent, as the office of the Chitra-shala acted as the bank of the *Kesari* office.

At the time of the case, there were about 7000 subscribers to the *Kesari*. The prosecution began to raise the number, so that by the end of 1899 it leapt up to the tune of 11,000. The subscribers to the *Mahratta* could be reckoned to be about a thousand and the paper kept the level steady. Neither did it diminish to a lower figure, nor did it grow to a more spectacular computation. The annual subscription of the *Kesari* was one rupee and that of the *Mahratta* was Rs. 7-4 each number priced at annas 4 for weekly purchasers. The *Mahratta*, being an English weekly, did not command a large number of readers, but Tilak insisted on its continuation as an English organ, to spread the principles of

the *Kesari* in other provinces, though it was certified to be a dead weight. In the absence of Tilak, Kelkar alone conducted the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* was managed by Kelkar and Khadilkar together. But they did not simply keep the two papers living till Tilak returned. By all opinion, they achieved more than that. The popularity of the papers was retained at the same pitch and it was no wonder that Tilak should have fixed upon them as his future co-adjutors. From 1896 to 1899 Kelkar helped Tilak in carrying on the law-class. In 1889, owing to the plague, the law-class was closed and Tilak had decided not to re-open its doors. To write an article for the *Kesari* and if and when needed, for the *Mahratta* also, did not cost much time for Tilak, which was generally taken up by other outside activities. In the two years under reference such engagements were more or less rare and he could get a fairly undisturbed quiet. Though those days had been rendered dangerous by an uncommonly savage outbreak of the plague, his mind remained absolutely unanxious and with all his family, he continued to live in the same Vinchurkar's Wada, perfectly reckless of the ruthless epidemic.

The circle of his family was drawn with a short radius. He had no brother of his own and the only solitary sister he had, always stayed away in Konkan.

His uncle had his own separate lodging. And hence his wife, three sons, two daughters, his nephews, *viz.*, D. V. Vidwans and G. V. Vidwans, completed the circle of his family. His eldest daughter was married, long before that time, to Mr. V. G. Ketkar, the son of G. N. Ketkar, a leading pleader and a reputed social reformer of Nasik. Tilak and Ketkar differed in their views about social reform. But it seemed that they agreed in disagreeing with each other; and the conduct and the character of both the father of the bride and the father of the bride-groom were so much in reciprocal consonance that the connection between the two families could not but produce a surprising harmony. Tilak himself praised Ketkar senior, as being a man unfailingly true to his word and extremely God-fearing in his behaviour. That pair hated ostentation so much that the marriage ceremony passed away all quietly. At that time Tilak's eldest son was a school-going boy of fifteen and his youngest only three year's old. Between them two, Tilak had five children. But only three of them, *viz.*, two daughters and one son survived. The daughters were young and the middle son, too, had hardly reached his teens. For doing his domestic duties, Tilak did not engage any special servant, but the work was done by a boy in the *Kesari* office. Tilak used to keep a cook in the

household as he had to entertain usually a large number of guests, distinguished and undistinguished, who were carefully looked after by Tilak's nephew. In the whole family there was none who had any whimsical taste, eccentric habits or unsatisfiable squeamishness in the matter of diet, dress or deportment. Tea which passes in our families as a symbol of chief affluence had certainly a great vogue among all the members of Tilak's family. But beyond that cup which is generally held to cheer but not inebriate the drinker, there was no sign of luxury in the domestic economy of Tilak. All the belongings of the family were so spare that they could easily be packed into one or two carts.

The editorial apparatus of Tilak comprised only a small table, a chair or two and a cupboard or shelf for books. The one thing remarkable about Tilak's upholstery was an easy chair which held him all the time except when he had to sleep. It was from that seat that Tilak conversed with his friends, held long discourses and discussions about all manner of subjects, indulged his wit and humour with which he was parsimoniously endowed by the Almighty and lastly, excogitated and planned all his new activities. Tilak never wrote anything by his own hand. He dictated his articles from that, his favourite throne and it might inte-

restingly be said that, while his mouth was engaged in talking, his hands were occupied in breaking nuts into bits, of which he was extra-ordinarily fond. It was his habit to clap his hands on the forehead when any baffling point arose in his self-argumentation or when he was unbearably worried with the dictation-business. Before that time, Tilak was said to have had no facility of that kind of an easy chair and a writer. Then a rolled-up bed served as a table and a carpet spread on the floor did the duty of a chair. Himself he wrote little or nothing in his own hand. Except when some peculiar occasion necessitated his own penning, he shunned the atramental touch of the holder as a religiously minded man would fear to handle an accursed or a ghostly thing. Writing was to him 'that dry drudgery at the desk's dead wood.'

The simplicity and plain living of Tilak were to be seen in the whole family. In his clothes he was so extremely simple that, except his head-gear he hardly wore any coloured cloth. A dhoti of the rough common texture, a shirt of coarse cloth, a white upper garment and an ordinary scarf worth about a rupee or two, constituted his daily dress. He never handled a hand-kerchief and carried with him a walking-stick costing more than a quarter of a rupee. His ward-robe at Sinhgad contained a woollen short coat and a cap.

But whether at Sinhgad or in Poona, he was for a large part of his time bare of any kind of garment. He felt no hesitation nor any superfine sense of breach of etiquette when he had to receive in his house any distinguished guest or any other gentlemanly visitor, with his head uncovered and body bereft of any apparel. His wife, too, was in her manners and appearance equally homely and gentle. She never allowed herself the luxury of a gold laced and gaudy sari, and even when she bought silken wear for herself, it was designedly the lowest in price. Yet the artlessness of her dress was not her soul distinction. Her behaviour was woven of a peculiar and unparalleled yarn of commendable simplicity. She never crossed the threshold of her house and in all her life, she never exchanged even a few formal words with persons outside the charmed circle of her family. Her house was all the world to her; and her children, Cornelia-like were such precious jewels to her that all her joy and happiness seemed to be concentrated in them. None must have seen in her hands either a book or a newspaper as in the hands of a modern up-to-date lady of family, nor must any body have observed her freely gossiping in the verandah of her house on all manner of subjects after the way of many society women of the present day. Quite a lot of people came and went in and out of Tilak's

house to see him for one purpose or another. But there could hardly be a single fortunate individual who had heard the voice of Mrs. Tilak from within the parlour.

The shopping business of the family was entrusted solely to the two nephews of Tilak. He himself was never known to have gone to the market and purchased a thing or two. He never enquired about the price of articles brought home by his nephews, far less haggled about the high or low rate of the bargain. He ate in silence whatever was served to him, without pausing to discuss the taste of one dish or another. He never selfishly wished for being served in a particular or special manner different from other subordinate members of the family. The tastefulness of a dish never made him avid, nor the tastelessness of another turned him away in disgust from the table. Truly speaking, he was a literal embodiment of the biblical saying "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink." He came to and sat in the parlour twice at dinner-times, and, as soon as the business was over, he ran up to his hall or to his study. By day, he used to eat wheat and his supper contained the only one unvarying course of rice. The dietary luxury that he, on rare occasions, permitted himself to enjoy, was a bottle of aerated water mixed, in summer time, with bits of ice.

He was indifferent to the upbringing of his children, as to other domestic affairs. He was never seen to be coaxing and caressing his babies, much less spoiling them by over-indulgence. In their illness alone, he had to call in the family-doctor, Mr. Garde, and look after them. He never taught his children their school lessons, but had engaged *ad hoc* tutors to coach them up in matters of religious ritual. Tilak was indeed religiously-minded but he never made much ado about the observance of religious practices. He did perform certain periodical religious rites in honour of his ancestors; but, though he had the ancestral images of gods in his household, he was never noticed to kill them in worshipful meditation in front of them. He insisted on putting on the sacred cloth at the time of dinner and it might be noted in passing that even D. A. Khare and his other Bombay friends did not mark themselves out by disobedience to that rule in Tilak's family.

Though the daily visitors might be reckoned by the thousand, Tilak had very few friends who could be said to have entrance to the inmost chamber of his heart. The treatment that Tilak accorded to his numerous guests and visitors was generally governed more by their utility than their ability. If a certain person was found to be useful for his purpose, though perhaps he might otherwise be despicable, Tilak never

scrupled to enlist him in his service without being too much apprehensive of his association or too much fastidious about his conduct in other respects. On the other hand, when any man was not fit to be thus recruited in the army of his workers, Tilak never cared to dance attendance on him or to scrape acquaintance with him, though, probably, he might be the model of virtue or a nonpareil in public estimation. As Tilak rose in importance in the public eye, a host of persons, both worthy and worthless, well-known and unknown or even ill-known, began to gather round him in such vast numbers, that Tilak had perforce to make an assortment from among the multitudinous crowd. He always loved to hold conversations and discuss topics among friends, to stand firmly by his own opinions and try to convince others of their truthfulness. He indulged in this habit so widely that it was difficult for superficial observers to make a distinction between his friends in confidence and others standing in the outer court-yard of his mind, though men of keener intelligence and more critical perspicacity could easily separate the sheep from the goats in the vast fold that browsed on the pasture of Tilak's confidences.

In that period of his life, he might be said to have had three friends to whom he opened his heart. They were Mr. V. G. Joshi of

the Chitra Shala press, Rao Saheb Bapat of Baroda and D. A. Khare of Bombay. Whether it was to carry out a certain secret plan of his or to frustrate that of his enemies, whether it was to frame a policy of his own or to defeat that of his opponents, Tilak used to call in the aid and concurrence of those people. A little farther than that elemental group, as we may call it, of Tilak's immediate friends if not colleagues, was the class of persons like Balasaheb Natu, and Apparao Vaidya who, though not admitted to the esoteric section, were certainly no mean inmates of the exoteric. Not only that the religious opinions of these people were not likely to harmonize with Tilak's; but the individual character of every one of them was so glaringly at variance with that of Tilak that agreement between them was nearly unthinkable. Nevertheless the coterie of those persons constituted a lever in his hand, as it were, with which Tilak so triumphantly captured public opinion. There were many others like Dattopant Behere, Vishnupant Vartak and Bhikajipant Hardikar who swelled the ranks of the battalions of Tilak's workers and followers. Not all of them, of course, were equally serviceable to him.

To borrow the military phraseology, there were in that army a few generals, some lieutenants, many second-lieutenants, and an in-

calculable number of privates with a batch of sappers and miners ahead. It was but natural that in that array, there might have crept carpet-knights, valiant trencher-men and parlour-heroes. Some of them loved to carry on a flourishing trade on the fugitive stock of their supposed closed association with Tilak. Some of them took delight in rubbing shoulders with Tilak and claiming equality with him though, probably, they understood no more of politics than a cat did. A few of them were certainly uncommonly sincere, and conscious of their deficiency in political or any kind of higher knowledge, did surrender themselves into the hands of Tilak for any kind of menial task calling forth any amount of physical trouble and inconvenience. Tilak had the great gift of attracting to himself and keeping together all manner of people, high or low, educated or uneducated. His *entourage* was as immense and as varied as that of the sovereign of a vast empire. He retained one person because he was a clever speaker, another because he was a veteran writer, a third one because he was a jack-of-all trades, a fourth one because he was faithful, a fifth one because he was adventurous, a sixth one, because he was, though not of great use, an ornament to his party *et hoc genus omne*. In addition to that, Tilak's house was the haunt of all kinds of unknown guests, needy persons, pilgrims on their way to holy

places, beggars and mendicants, priests and prophets. With every one of them, however, Tilak behaved with such an affable familiarity that none of those countless incomers stepped out of his door-way, without a feeling of satisfaction that Tilak had reserved a soft corner for him or taken a special interest in his business, or looked after him in the most loving manner.

Well, when Tilak returned from his travels in February of 1899, his health was remarkably improved and he thought of resuming his writing work in the *Kesari*, though he did not file his declaration as editor of the paper till the 4th of July, 1899. He had already begun to write in the columns at certain intervals. He contributed, during that period, both leading articles and leaderettes, on such topics as the Madras Congress, the imprisonment of the Natu brothers, the alleged existence of the revolutionary conspiracies in Poona and the Shivaji festival. In the months of February and March of that year, he penned half a dozen articles on the subject of Khoti in Konkan. Himself being a Khoti-holder, he was familiar with all the details of the question. He wrote out that series, because he felt the draft bill of the Government to be bristling with unjust clauses against which Tilak's friend, Khare, had raised a storm in the Legislative Council. Those articles were held to be so masterfully con-

ceived and written that even the Government recognized the need of accepting some of the amendments suggested in them.

Tilak resumed the editorship of the *Kesari* from the 4th of July, 1899. Thus, between 1897 and 1899, the *Kesari* did not bear upon it the name of Tilak as its declared editor. That is to say 91 issues of the paper had to go before the public without Tilak's *imprimatur*. Readers who were habituated to read the output of Tilak's vigorous pen missed it during that period. It might legitimately be inferred by people, that though Tilak's name was not to be seen on the paper itself, he did write occasionally in it. It might be that, as others must have made a free gift of their articles to Tilak for publication under his name, so Tilak, too, on his part, must surely have done his literary alms to others in charge of the paper, though, according to the scriptural injunction, they must not have been done "before men, to be seen of them." Such exchange or cancellation of mutual journalistic debts is a common phenomena in the newspaper-world and there is little to wonder if Tilak too imitated his fellow-journalists in those literary borrowings and lendings. When Tilak's name appeared on the 4th of July on the *Kesari*, people hailed it with great joy. Tilak signalized his emergence by a leading article in that issue, under a

significant head-line borrowed from the holiest and one of the most auspicious incantations from the Vedas, pregnant with the meaning conveyed by the classical and challenging "resurgam." In that article, Tilak expressed his profound gratefulness, in the spirit of what Tennyson had charmingly described as a "reverential looking upwards," to the Almighty for having brought those days to him. Next, he discharged his debt of honour to the public by offering it his most heart-felt thanks for the generous help and sympathy which he had received when the cloud of the sedition suit had over-shadowed the horizon of his happiness and even threatened to darken it farther after the case was over. His obligations to the people he felt to be so difficult for him to repay by means of mere words, words, words, that he closed the chapter of thanks-giving to the public almost with the verse

"Money can be repaid but not kindness such as yours."

and proceeded to acknowledge the services of those who stood security for him, those who had conducted his papers in his absence and those who had sent him messages of sympathy.

The prosecution of Tilak resulted in a mighty awakening among the public. But Tilak, probably in a satirical vein, gave the

credit for it to the Government instead of taking it to himself. He thought himself to be travelling by the beaten track. It was not that he took a different road, but the policy of the Government, he went on to say, had taken a different turn which brought in its train the popular commotion of that character. In that ironical way even in the very first article after his jail-life, Tilak, hung up the responsibility for the rousing of popular feeling round the Government's neck. In that very article, Tilak mentioned with special gratitude the name of Professor Max Muller, for his disinterested assistance, perhaps intercession in his favour, by referring to a Sanskrit saying about the selfless and pure affection of the magnanimous.

Tilak also briefly reviewed the happenings of the twenty two months that had rolled by. He congratulated Poona on the calmness of atmosphere that had then supervened, but he did not forget, at the same time, to allude to the retrogression that had become manifest even to a superficial observer. Freedom of the press had been restricted. Teachers in schools had been forbidden to take part in politics. The amendments of the Criminal Procedure Code and Civil Procedure Code had pulled the strings tighter on certain classes of people. Tilak made it clear in the article that the *Kesari* did not want to do, or ask to be done, any illegal act whatever. He

pleaded for a more unambiguous exposition or delimitation of what people should do and what they should be prohibited from doing. The general trend of the article indicated that Tilak demanded rather a definition of the exact field of popular agitation than an expansion of it. It was his indomitable self-confidence, it appeared, that though the area permitted for political work and public propaganda might be narrow to a degree, he would play the game even in that limited field and show to the world that he came out with flying colours.

Tilak expressed his opinion that Poona would not have been caught up in the grip of repression, had there been no rift in the united public thought of Poona. For the prosecution of the *Kesari*, the Moderate party of Poona was unequivocally held by Tilak to be at least partly responsible. Some of those people had connected the articles of the *Kesari* with the Poona murders and had thus added fuel to the fire that had already embraced Poona in its flames. Tilak, however, did not fail to admit his satisfaction at the fact which was afterwards increasingly recognized by the people, that the repression in connection with plague was the real active cause of those horrible happenings. Though there were frankly two antagonistic parties in Poona, neither of the two, Tilak declared, wished to overthrow the British rule; in fact it was to

all intents and purposes, unexterminable by either. A man who called himself a Moderate was not necessarily a man of sober thought or unmovable temper or impenetrable sentiments; nor on the contrary, was an avowed Extremist a man of combustible character or an inflammable heart, as a rule. In the ultimate analysis, both those types of persons were equally liable to be pounced upon by the Government. All needs must obey and abide by the laws of the Government. The dividing line between them was to be drawn at the point at which the freedom given by the laws was to be utilised by them to the fullest possible extent. The tendency of the Moderate party was to believe that all was best, under the circumstances that obtained, in the best of all possible words. The insistence of the *Kesari* was, it was not so. On the other hand, the situation was extremely unsatisfactory and called for immediate amelioration. Even then, Tilak opined that there was much common work to which persons in those two parties might fruitfully put their hands, and that if such a co-operation materialized, it would yield an abundant harvest of popular good.

Tilak's line of reasoning, in that article was of some such order. As soon as the article was read by the people, there arose quite a furore among the public which began to look towards him with greater reverence and

growing pride. The financial position of the *Kesari*, instead of becoming worse during the period in which he was absent, improved probably beyond his expectation. When he returned from the jail, his law-class which was temporarily closed on account of the ravages of the plague, was decided to be permanently shut up, so that Tilak could get a few hours more to be devoted either to the *Kesari* or to other kinds of public work. As Tilak appeared to sit firmer in his saddle, his opponents too, enraged by Tilak's strong criticism of them, armed themselves with a view to give a braver battle to him. One fact, however, must be noticed clearly. The fight between the two parties had shifted, in the meanwhile, from the social to the political arena. As Tilak's reputation burst out of Poona and conquered "fresh woods and pastures new," his attention automatically began to be centred less and less on local topics or politics of the parish-pump, and more and more on graver and wider subjects. We cannot say that personal politics had altogether ceased in Poona or that it was dead and buried, never thereafter to rise again. As long as Tilak and Gokhale were in Poona from which radiated all their activities, it was impossible for both of them to beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nor ever could there begin a reign of perfect peace in the realm of

politics, or for the matter of that, any public movement, with the result that the wolf would dwell with the lamb and the leopard would lie down with the kid.

All the same, real political agitation throughout the whole country, on a large and vigorous scale, was ushered in this very year, when Lord Curzon with his indurated imperialism, his supercilious stubbornness and his insolent behaviour, assumed the sceptre of Viceroyalty. His appearance on the Indian soil as the Viceroy and Governor-General, was a signal for the local and provincial politics to retire in the back-ground, and for the all-India movement to spread from end to end of the vast continent of India. In the second half of his political career, Tilak uprose on the crest of the wave, and seemed "to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm" that scoured and reached even the remotest corners of the land. The year 1899 in that way marks the beginning of the nearly twenty years' political war that Tilak carried on without remission even to the last moment of his life. Readers can easily be assured that the history of that long period is far more brilliant, lofty, zestful and inspiring than that of the period covered by these pages. Here, therefore, we might well be permitted to close this volume on the very rousing and vibrating note in which, through his article, Tilak sounded that clarion-

call to his mother-country, which informs with its glowing spirit the horn of the hunter heralding the grey of the dawn, which announces to the world below the waking warder on the high hill and which, again, is likely to be echoed and re-echoed through the inmost recesses of every Indian heart as long as the flame of patriotism continues to illuminate it with its hallowed light!

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TILAK'S METHOD OF CONVERSATION

Outline of Future Work

Tilak: Agarkar, let us just fix the outline of our future work. It is three years since we are thinking of deciding our line. It is bad for us to while away our time.

Upasani: Don't you think passing of examinations to be a preparation of our undertakings.

Agarkar: For myself, I am not going to look upon examinations as anything than a lever to give us a lift in society, and widen our field of social service. Really speaking, I agree with Tilak in holding the three years to have been allowed to slip by uselessly. Well, that is, however, a minor matter. Tilak, I have devoted some thought to the subject. I have sounded social service from all sides. But still I continue to think, social reform must be undertaken before political reform.

Upasani: Ah! That is no common platform. You are travelling the same class that you did in Bombay.

Tilak: Does not matter. It is no mean job to distil unanimity from diversity. Let us confine to-day's discussion first only to finding of a common ideal. Well, then, Agarkar, I take it that you stick to your view that social reform must precede political reform?

Agarkar: Exactly; that is what I feel. House first, door afterwards. If the house is strong, the doors also are strong.

These words of Shelly exactly fit in with the conditions of our homes. So far as we are concerned it is alright. But what of the multitude weltering in a pool of superstition and ignorance? Say what you will, Tilak, as to social reform I mean to burn my boats.

Tilak: Pray! Don't imagine that I am against all this. What man in his senses does not love home? Why talk of Shelly? Our Ramdas too tells the same tale. Live well first. You can well beat the resonant drum of house-reform

as you say. But what would you say to a man who is homeless? Give them homes and then ask them to reform. A home cannot stand in the air all alone. All our activities are as a matter of fact for the home and nothing else. The Engligh came here for the prosperity of their homes; is it not? I am sure you agree that there can't be a home without a door, without a bazaar or such other outside appurtenances.

Agarkar: By Jove; I am not a man, not to bow to truth or stubborn facts. There is absolutely no doubt, that our home built on this mortal soil is necessarily dependent on this world. Therefore, Tilak, at heart I am of quite a different opinion. I feel that the ideal of a man must be high-soaring. Matters not if even one hundredth of it is not realised. But you people think too much of this world, and seem to forget the other world altogether. You speak of this world but have you found the creator of this world? Don't you agree that this world is built up by men and women living in the homes? I do concede that you must consider the political side of the world too. I will never say nay to it. What I insist on, is that you must not look to the political circumstances as the only single aspect of the world. And my plea is that you should look upon the home in this very perspective. I do not care whether you call this political or social. Apply the words social reform in the sense in which you use them ordinarily. I hope, I am not disbelieving Tilak too much.

Tilak: Oh! no, not a bit. I find this day as a day of good omen. Calmly and dispassionately we are discussing this question to-day. From this, Agarkar, I see that both of us will have mighty opportunities to serve Maharashtra. I entirely agree with your first principle. There is no difference of opinion as to the home being the basis of our movement. I am not a poet like you. My religion teaches me that home is a stepping-stone to final beatitude. This stepping-stone must be strong and well-laid. Agarkar, you say that a man's ideal must be very high. It is so in most cases. When he enjoys the necessary happiness, his natural desire brings into sight the higher ideal. For a common man a common ideal suffices; and we have to think from the point of view of the man in the street, in

taking a view of the circumstances that surround the homes of any man. One must look back to the year 1632 and look forward to 1930. Political circumstances as you say, is only an aspect of the whole. But that aspect, you see, is all-pervasive. Do the babies in the home get fresh milk for nourishment? Our cattle are being exported to foreign countries. Our Land Revenue is increased after every 30 years. You have seen what kind of education is thrust down into the throats of our sons. What proportion does the educational expenditure bear to the military expenditure? We shall teach our own religion to our wives and children. Agarkar, if you are bent on social reform, well, do begin it at once. Talk will not achieve it. If you once set yourself to social reform, you will find that, at every step, you shall have to fight with Government.

Agarkar: Yes; by all means we shall fight. But do you realise, Tilak, that we will have to fight with ignorance as much as with Government?

Tilak: Oh! it is a wound of the heart, and it will require constant, delicate care to heal up. Government is another matter. It is the dust over the surface, and we shall sweep it even with force.

Agarkar: There is rub. You call it a wound of the heart; but for hundred years it is festering. The heart is on the point of failing. What good is it to sweep away the dust from over a dead body when the heart ceases to beat? Heart, heart, indeed! Tilak, heal up the wound, and for making the process easy, let the outside too be kept clean.

Tilak: It is a wound of the sword. . . It is a wound due to hunger. The heart is weak because it is not nourished. What is urgently required is food, but our food is not in our hands. But let that go. To-day I strike the middle path. Both of us have no objection to take up the question of all-round education. Have we not a common platform in this sacred cause of education?

Agarkar: Thank God that we have at last decided our work.

Tilak: Yes, surely.

Upasani: Good gracious, I congratulate you both.

APPENDIX II

RESIGNATION

OF THE

Life Membership of the Deccan Education Society.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUES

(1) It is with extreme regret that I lay before you the following in continuation of my letter dated 14th October 1890, requesting you to allow me to withdraw from the Body. It is now nearly eleven years since we combined for a common object, and during that interval, or at least the major portion of it, we have with a steadfast aim struggled, worked and suffered together. For the sake of our aspirations we have faced an amount of opposition, and had to put up with various taunts, sneers, ridicules and disappointments. For the sake of an ideal we have made large sacrifices, and undergone many privations. And now after such a long period of constant labour in company with you, in pursuance of common aims and aspirations, circumstances should drive me to speak to you of separation, in spite of the feelings which the community of ends and sufferings have contributed to develop, is a misfortune the severity of which can better be imagined than told. Nay, more, the institutions which you and I have so striven to rear, on which we have all with a combined end and determinate effort spent our best energies, and which so far as it respects myself, has been the main stay of my ambition in life, to speak to you of bidding farewell to them, plunges me into a pain, which one similarly situated alone can realise. But it is no use quarrelling with the inevitable. The most effectual way of combating with it is to submit to it; and I shall do so. Of late, I see a marked tendency into our body to deviate from the principles we originally accepted for our guidance, and which have brought us so much success. At every time when the tendency displayed itself, I have protested against it; but nothing has ensued except heart-burnings and bitter repartees. Under the circumstances, I feel it my duty to withdraw. But before I do so, I hope you will allow me to

place before you in justification of this momentous step, a succinct account of the reasons which have brought on the present crisis, if not for anything else, at least for my own satisfaction. I know that the incidents I am going to mention, might, by some be considered unimportant, or even trivial, and might be likened to a tempest in a teacup. But whatever interest these incidents may have outside our Body, I believe that they form a material part in the history of our Institution; and it is in this belief that I have ventured to detail them here with a hope that their knowledge may be of some use to avoid such unpleasant occasions hereafter. I intended to make the statement as accurate as I could; but I am sorry to say that I have not before me all the confidential papers I wanted; and in consequence I had to depend on my memory in some cases. I have, however, taken good care to insert only such facts as are incontrovertible; and I have little doubt that they will be borne out by the records and the proceedings of the Board. I have also taken care to confine myself to such facts alone as affected our relations as Members of one Body for the simple reason that though there may be several other things that have indirectly influenced in some degree, such relations, it is neither decent nor desirable to refer to them in a document like this

(2) Broadly speaking the present rupture has been the result of incompatibility of views and the consequent bitterness of feelings, developed to an unforeseen extent. It is now useless to speculate as to what would have been the result, if more care and rigidity had been observed with respect to admission of Life Members into the Body, or if our constitution had been less liberal, or representative than it is, or if the principles of the Body had been put down as articles of faith, and Members required to observe them, or else withdraw from the Body, or if there had been one amongst us, who by virtue of his personal character, would have commanded respect and admiration from the rest; thus exercising an effectual control over all. It is also idle to discuss what would have been the consequences, had the Body been all composed of friends, brought up in the same traditions, and actuated all along by the same desires and motives. As a matter of fact, we have chosen to come together on a secular basis, and that too of equality, all, or nearly all, when the Body was formed, being of the same College standing We also knew

that we had been of different temperaments from the beginning but we believed that as the ideal was accepted by all, the disinterested life that we were going to lead, and the sacrifice it involved, would have no scope for competition or jealousies; and as a matter of fact, the difference did not come in our way at first. The task we set before ourselves was a difficult one, and the realization of the ideal was yet far distant. We were nobodies, and had nothing to reckon upon for success, except our devotion and zeal. For a time, therefore, all went on very well. Exception was now and then taken to this or that individual or act; but on the whole the singleness of purpose with which we worked, and the sacrifices we made for realizing our object, at once convinced the public of our earnestness, and secured for us that moral prestige which, in absence of large funds, is the very backbone of such undertakings. But the position of "all to work and nothing to fight for" soon changed; and the individualities came to be more and more marked, whilst some of us began to grow more impatient of the restraints which we had resolved to impose on ourselves. Singleness of purpose gave way to diversity of pursuits and interests; and these brought in differences in views and aims, where there was harmony before. Differences too on questions of principles, once already decided and accepted, naturally led to hot discussions and parties. Party-feeling led to jealousies and the latter ripened into rancour, making reconcilement a practical impossibility. We have also begun to scoff at the spirit of self-reliance, and self-sacrifice, and simplicity of conduct, which alone, and not so much the intellectual results, had secured for us the confidence of the public. Thus instead of different temperaments harmoniously blended by solemn obligations, we now stand divided in aims and pursuits estranged by conflicting passions and interests, and wearied by simplicity, and rigidity of conduct. As a sample of how low we can go, and we have gone, I append herewith copies of the correspondence between Mr. Agarkar and myself, on the subject of Rs. 700 grant from H. H. the Maharaja Holkar in December 1889. Mr. Agarkar's sentiments have been fully corroborated by Mr. Apte. When such feelings prevail it is, I believe, impossible to expect full harmony and co-operation and more so, as all the causes that gave rise to those feelings cannot be altered.

(3) As much has been said of promises made in the fullness of early life, I shall begin with the original understanding on which we started the School in 1880. It was in July or August of 1879 when I was living at the Deccan College for studying for the LL. B. examination, that Messrs. Agarkar, B. A. Bhagwat, V. B. Karandikar and myself first discussed the importance and practicability of establishing private Schools on the model of Missionary Institutions. There was no difference of opinion as to the necessity of native private enterprise in education; but the question was how to make it successful. Self-sacrifice was evidently the only means for men in our circumstances, and though we were prepared for it, yet various difficulties were raised and discussed, as for instance, equality of work, private gains, etc.,—difficulties, which, I am sorry to observe, have at last led to an undesirable split in the Body. Suffice it to say, that after many a private and prolonged discussion the conclusion at which we arrived was that if we applied ourselves to the task with the determination of carrying out our idea at any sacrifice, it was not an impossibility, though it might be long time before it could be accomplished. So enthusiastic were we, that soon after Mr. Agarkar and myself wrote to a leading gentleman in the town that for bare maintenance, the highest estimate of which came up to Rs. 75/-per mensem, we were prepared to devote ourselves to education; and that if it were possible to raise funds that would yeild the necessary income we might soon undertake to give free education. The gentleman wrote to us in reply that, though our object was a laudable one, the public would not come to assistance until we were actually in the work, and had done something. We were nothing disheartened for this, as we had determined to carry out our programme at any sacrifice. It was at this stage of our discussion that we learnt that Mr. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar had given up service, and was in Poona, intending to start a New School. All of us resolved to go to him, disclosed our scheme, and requested him to take the lead. He consented, and it was settled to start a school by the beginning of 1880. Messrs. Bhagwat and Karandikar, however, had, by this time, begun to doubt the success of the scheme, and the possibility of even earning a decent maintenance by the profession. Mr. Vishnu Shastri did not, in consequence, mention any names in the

prospectus which he published on behalf of himself and his colleagues on the 15th December 1879. The same prudence restrained him from describing the objects of the Institution in high words,—the only object mentioned being, to facilitate and cheapen education. The subsequent events showed that he was justified in being so moderate. Messrs. Bhagwat and Karandikar withdrew; and I am now glad that they did, though at the eleventh hour; and Mr. Agarkar, having got the senior Fellowship in the Deccan College, deferred joining us for a year, Vishnu Shastri and myself were the only persons then left to open the school on 1st January 1880. It was at this time that Mr.Namjoshi came to us. He had given up his business, and was in search of something else; and Mr. Vishnu Shastri promised to take him in against many a friendly warning. We knew, he said, what his weak points were, and knowing them, we could use his energies by giving proper work to him. I give this observation specially as it explains the principle on which we worked for sometime. Mr. Namjoshi accepted the position, and worked with us for the first term of 1880. Our strength was equal to the task, but as several persons, and amongst them Mr. Apte whom I requested to join us, had declined to do so, we had to pull on somehow or other. At the beginning of the second term I had nearly grown hopeless of enlisting more men in our cause, when circumstances brought in Mr. Apte, who had first refused. Our salaries were however too low and Mr. Apte continued to be a paid teacher for some months with higher salary; and it was only after the assurance of Mr. Agarkar to the effect that he too intended to join us, that he permanently joined the Body. The idea of supplementing his income by doing some other work was, however, uppermost in his mind; and it was at his initiative that Mr. Namjoshi's *Star* came to be converted into *Mahratta*, and a new vernacular Paper started,—a new business not included in our original programme. In the beginning of 1881 we had the School and two papers to be managed by Vishnu Shastri Chiplunker, myself, Namjoshi, Apte and Agarkar, who joined us by the beginning of 1881, as promised before. I might here mention that it was the admission of Mr. Apte that made us create the office of the Superintendent of the School in addition; and while Mr. Vishnu Shastri continued to be the Head Master, Mr. Apte was made Superintendent of the School. Such was our position by the

beginning of 1881. Five of us had come together, though not from the same motive, to conduct a School, two Papers and a Press. The work was rather heavy, and as everything had yet to be done anew, it put a great strain on the energies of all. Our ways of working were of the kind indicated above. Each man was given the work most suited to him. There were no outside interests yet created and every suggestion was made and received in good spirit. Not that there were no discussions, and even hot discussions, but somehow everyone felt that all were working for a common end, and so that the result was always satisfactory. As regards pay the doctrine of jealous equality was not yet developed. Just as each was entrusted to do what he could do best, he was allowed such salary as was necessary for his maintenance, and as could be spared by the Board. Thus for the first year, Vishnu Shastri and myself took almost nothing, while Messrs. Namjoshi and Apte were paid more than their due fare. Everything thus went on smoothly, and the Kolhapur Case, which arose soon after, (March 1882) made the union more firm for sometime. We were still struggling to get into public confidence ; and we all felt it to be our duty to stand the trial. There were many important things connected with this trial : but as they are not so very relevent to the present question, I shall pass them over with the remark that if the question of equal pay and equal work, outside work and proportionate responsibility had then been raised, the Body would have been ruined long ago. In fact, Mr. Namjoshi and myself who had to bear the brunt of that work, would have found it impossible to work, had these questions been raised at the time. Fortunately, however, nothing of the kind occurred, and with the generous sympathy and help of the public, due mainly to our disinterested advocacy of what we believed to be the right, came that we were able to stand the trial. Two more members, Messrs. Kelkar and Gole, the former of whom came in contact with us during this case, joined the Body in 1883 ; and the School, the Press and the Papers went on very well. The only fact of importance affecting our relations was, that Mr. Apte, on the return of myself, and Mr. Agarkar from jail, (Oct. 1882) and before we had hardly left the reception hall told us that he would have little to do with the journals thence-forth; and he soon afterwards devoted himself to book-making more largely. I may here notice that the annual

report of the School for 1882, while speaking of the *Kesarī* and the *Mahratta*, and the troubles these journals involved us into, we have defended our undertaking to do such outside work as would converge to the principal object for our uniting and forming a Body. This position we would take because the Body as a whole was interested in the outside work then carried on. When this position was altered, when outside work came to be undertaken more in the interest of self, it naturally gave rise to differences and dissensions such as are detailed in the sequel. However, the important fact to be noticed during this period, is the opportunity afforded by the Education Commission to lay our views before the public, and the Government (Sept. 1882). The scheme which Mr. Apte read before the Commission on our behalf was sketched out, before the judgment in the Kolhapur Case was delivered; and the whole of it is given in the appendix to the School Report 1882. I do not wish here to go into the details of the scheme. The only purpose in alluding to it is to point out that the hot evidence given by Mr. Apte clearly shows that the establishment of a native Educational Mission was the chief aim of our Body. It was in fact the keynote of Mr. Apte's evidence wherein we requested the Government to help us in the furtherence of our plan which was no other than to establish a net-work of National System of Education. Some viewed the scheme with alarm, while many expressed their satisfaction, and highly commended the spirit of self-reliance and sacrifice shown by us. I do not take upon myself to declare which of these views has proved, and will prove to be correct. From what follows, it may, however, be seen that there has been a considerable departure from the views above given.

(4) The first three years of the School, may thus be said to have been spent in these struggles of asserting our existence. In the emphatic language of Mr. Vishnu Shastri, who unfortunately did not live to see even the end of this struggle, the Paper and the School were now an all accomplished fact,—accomplished too in the midst of a hundred difficulties, in utter disregard of desponding opinion, in direct defiance of official denunciation, in contemptuous indifference to showers of epithets of "mad" "hopeless" "chimerical" "Eutopia" the invariable lot of every one, who would disturb the dull routine of things. Accomplished I say again, in spite of descretion

death and incarceration, in spite of calumny, in spite of stupid paragraphs in News Papers, in spite of little interested doings of little folks, in a word in spite of all the mean devices of disappointed malice, our Institutions triumphing over all these by the sheer force of innate energy and our indomitable resolution. Those that have joined the Institution laterly, may not fully realise the difficulties ; but I have distinct remembrance of the struggle, and I sometimes wonder that we did not take longer time to emerge out of it safe and sound. The next three years, 1883, 1884, and 1885 were spent in organising the Institutions we had established ; and this may be called the second or the organization period. It is true that we had passed through this struggle undamped in spirit and energy ; but still the Kolhapur Case had left us in much debt ; and there was yet nothing to fight for, between ourselves, except this debt. Little difficulty was, consequently experienced in incorporating the principle of self-denial and sacrifice, and constitution we framed for ourselves at the time ; and it may be seen from what follows that by the end of 1884, both the institution, the school and the papers were, to all appearance at least provided with a stable constitution.

The first important event of this period was the support of the late Abasaheb Ghatge, Chief of Kagal, and the honour of a visit, which H. E. Sir James Furgussen, was subsequently pleased to pay to our Institution (13th Feb. 1884). The full account of these memorable events of the history of our Institution is given in the annual Report of the School for 1883. For the present purpose I refer only to the declaration of aims and objects which we made before His Excellency on the latter occasion. We have there clearly set forth that for a small yet decent remuneration we were prepared to establish a network of Schools throughout Maharashtra, and that it was our ambition to start a private College to secure a continuous supply of graduates, actuated by the same motives, as their teachers. In short, in the words of Sir W. Wedderburn, self-denial and self-reliance had been our watch-words by this time. They were the main-springs of our actions ; and it was for these moral reasons that *that* our work came to be so much valued. The constitution of the Deccan Education Society, which was formed soon after, was in consequence mainly based on these principles, and the bye-laws of the Managing Board,

were framed on the model of the regulations of Missionary Bodies. All Life Members were to receive equal pay, and had equal rights; but as the monthly salary fixed was not very high, it was provided that under special circumstances, gratuities might be granted to Life Members, either monthly, or in lump sums, in addition to their monthly salaries. A further provision for accidents etc., was made by assuring the life of every Member for Rs. 3,000. The sum originally proposed by me (I might mention that this business was done by me) was Rs. 5,000 but it had to be reduced for want of funds. Decent maintenance during life, special gratuities in case of needs, and the Life Policy of Rs. 3,000 for death was the provision which the Managing Board undertook to make for every Member; and it was understood, this would leave no motive for any one of us to seek work outside the Body, and thus to divert our energies in different channels.

(5) As we are proud to call ourselves Indian Jesuits, it may not be uninstructive to compare the provisions we had made, with those of the Missionary Bodies. The Jesuits are never married, and it is no wonder if their regulations are more stringent than ours. But even the provision which the American Mission makes for its Members is less liberal than ours. This Mission gives only a bare maintenance to its Members,–those that are married being allowed double the allowance of a single Member; while some special grant is made for children. We have embodied all these elements in our bye-laws; and a life-Policy in addition; and it is but natural to expect that the members of our Body should show as much, if not greater, devotion and zeal in our cause, as the Members of the American Mission do in theirs. Unfortunately for us, however, the case is quite the reverse; and every excuse is now being pleaded to discover a loop-hole and break through the original understanding. It is true that the question of outside work was not taken in the bye-laws of the Managing Board, but it was left undecided, not on account of any vagueness of understanding on the subject, but because we never thought it would cause such serious trouble. But to revert to the history of the period, the Deccan Education Society was formed on the 14th of Oct. 1884, and it was registered soon after, under Act 21 of 1860. The principles of self-sacrifice and native management were recognised in the bye-laws; and the College was

started by the beginning of 1885. Both the School and the College were registered for Grant-in-aid by the Educational Department ; and our position was thus in every way improved. But the formation of purely an Educational Society necessitated the separation of the journals from the Schools : and though all of us continued to be proprietors of the Press and the journals, yet it was considered as a distinctly separate branch of common business. How this position was further changed, will be discussed later on. As for the period under consideration, it is enough to state that during this time we spent our energies in organising, and developing both these Institutions, and that as yet seeds of dissensions had not germinated.

(6) I now come to the third, and as far as I am concerned, the last period of the School history from the end of 1885 to the present time. By this time the Institution has been so far establised and organised that the work in the School and College was reduced mostly to routine; and our material and moral position was better than we expected. In short, the struggle through which we had to pass might be said to have ended, the Body was fairly organised, and we were free from the cares of starting an organisation ; and had sometime to look about us, and work either for the original objects in view, or for private ends. It was thus the critical time in the history of the School, giving rise to new questions and relations. It is the settlement of these questions that is now the bone of contention between us. My own views on the point may appear from what follows ; but speaking of the Members of the Body, I am sorry to find that they do not attach much importance to such settlement one way or the other ; and the result is an amount of irritation and vituperation inflicting wounds, never to be healed. Once in easy circumstances we seemed to be taken in by them, so much so, that Mr. Agarkar's words "the patriotic and independent position of 1881, '82, '83 came to be talked of with scorn. The estimate of decent maintenance never rose higher than Rs. 75 per mensem when we launched into this undertaking. We got so much now, and the Life Policy of Rs. 3,000 in addition, as an old Sanskrit maxim says, " we long for more, excusing ourselves on the ground of distrust in the life Policy or the growing wants of the family. " The cry was catching, as it must necessarily be, and more so, in the case of Life Members, who were admitted during this period. These new Members had but dim

perception of why and how the sacrifice principle was adopted by us; and when the lead was taken by some of the elders, they readily joined them. I only wonder how in the face of these facts we still like to be called Jesuits. I have actually tried to gauge the strength of the Body on the Jesuitical principle; and I am sorry to say, that I found it on the minority. I shall now give some of the important questions, which have arisen during the period, and which have evoked such a wide difference of opinion. Almost all these cases have ended in hot quarrels or what is still worse occasionally in disgraceful squarbles. In giving the following account, I have, however, carefully refrained from mentioning or alluding to these out-bursts of passion, confining myself only to the main cases of differences. It have also neither—space nor time to go here minutely into the dodges and counter-dodges, shifts and counter-shifts adopted by each party in several cases. The question before us is, not what manoeuvres were used, and who used them successfully. We want to know what is the real cause of the split; and whether any successful attempt has been made to go to the root of the evil, and suppress it.

The first event that I have noticed in this period, first both in time and importance, is the settlement of over-drawn and under-drawn sums, which took place on 20th Oct. 1885. As observed before, we had up to that time, followed the rule of paying each according to his wants. Roughly speaking, all were paid equally; but as our incomes were small, it was laid down as a principle, that the special circumstances of each case should be provided for with gratuity. Again, just as some of the Members had taken nothing during the first year of the School, others were allowed to draw more even in after years, in consideration of their special wants. It was now proposed that these inequalities should be done away with, not in future alone, but retrospectively since 1880. In plain words, it was a proposal to buy up the sacrifices of older Members in former years: but as this was the first assertion of the principle, matters were not carried so far this time. The account of each Life Member was made up since 1880, and excluding the special gratuities in each case, the accounts were so adjusted as to make the sum drawn by each, proportionate to his period of service. Those that had over-drawn were told

to refund the overdrawn amount, to be paid to those who had under-drawn. Mr. Agarkar had been the originator and advocate of this doctrine of equality, as he calls it, so fruitful in consequence afterwards. As I shall have to revert to the doctrine hereafter I shall proceed to the next event of the period.

(7) *The Press and the Papers.* The whole of the year 1886 might be said to have been spent in the discussions of the Press. The financial position of the School had, by this time, far improved; and we felt sure our ground therein: but not so in the Press. It paid itself, and a considerable part of its debt; but the writers got nothing. This was a state of things not to be long tolerated. Some of us had already ceased to write to the Papers, and devoted their time to more paying pursuits, while some had to devote the whole of their time to the Press, without receiving anything. Again as the Press and the Papers were as yet the property of all, no individual Member had perfect freedom to express his peculiar views in the editorial columns of the Papers. For the first few years after the Papers were started, we worked on the principle that the views to be expressed in the editorial columns must represent the views at least of the majority of Members, and should be commonly acceptable. But as individualities became more marked, this arrangement was found to be more unworkable. From those and similar other causes, after many discussions, it was considered desirable to separate the Press from the Papers. But as the proposal was not feasible, it was given up, and a second resolution was passed to completely sever the connection of all Members from the Press and the Papers. I was sent up to the Press to make up the accounts; and so great was the belief in the bankruptcy of the concern that Mr. Agarkar once refused to give to the Press a loan of Rs. 500 from our funds, though the School and the Press were then conducted by the same Members. But I shall pass it over here, as it will appear in another place. The accounts were made up by the middle of 1886, and in October 1886 the Press and the Papers, with all their liabilities, were formally given over to Mr. Kelkar. I must here state that the offer was first made to Mr. Agarkar, but he declined to take it on account of, as he said to us, of the liabilities, and also because it was not the aim of his life to turn out an editor. He said he

would rather close them than go over there. I was against closing a concern started by us, especially when the Vernacular Paper had become so successful and popular; and offered myself to conduct the Papers, in case no one was willing to undertake the responsibility. Mr. Kelkar, however, undertook to conduct the concerns; but as the management was to be entrusted to Mr. Hari Narayan Gokhale, who would then come over only on my promise to support, Mr. Kelkar requested the Board to declare me as "the next hypothecated Member for the Press"; and the Board passed the resolution accordingly on the 22nd August 1887. The Press and the Papers were thus formally handed over to Mr. Kelkar, who was left at liberty to settle his terms with Mr. Hari Narayan Gokhale, while I was declared as "the next hypothecated man" for the purpose of general advice and assistance. I do not go in further details of the transfer, as they have no bearing on the case in point.

(8) When we thus separated the Press, it was believed, that we had got rid of one cause of difference and diversion; and we could thenceforth apply our undivided attention to the School and the College. There was thus a sense of relief for a time; but was destined not to be permanent. Some of us began to feel that they had committed a mistake. Mr. Kelkar had so conducted the Papers as not to hurt any Member or interest; but this was not enough. To some it was a loss of possible honour or gain. Mr. Agarkar, especially lost his opportunity of publishing his opinions in the editorial columns; and some of the social subjects which came up for discussion in the Press, soon after, caused the want to be felt more intensely. He was told that he could express his views, like Mr. Gole, under his signature, and in communicated columns. But that was not to his taste. Al last even the Papers were offered to him, but he did not like to take the financial responsibility upon him. Whereupon he was told that he could not use the Papers for preaching his hobbies, and throw the financial responsibility on our shoulders. It must also be remembered that the Papers had been deliberately made over to Mr. Kelkar, as his sole property. While this struggle was going on, regarding the Press Mr. Agarkar's views too in respect of the internal management, did not meet with the approval of the Board (I shall refer to them hereafter) and so

his disappointment gradually grew into rancour. He knew (and the sense of the Board was once informally ascertained) that the opinions expressed in the "*Kesari*" were mostly approved by the majority; but still gradually he came to believe that the "*Kesari*" was now ruining the Body by alienating the sympathies of the Reformers. Thus it was when Dr. Bhandarkar took us to task for exposing Mr. M. G. Ranade in the "*Kesari*" Mr. Agarkar took advantage of the occasion, and rose up to say that he and his friend Mr. Gokhale were at least free from the blame. I am sure that had old feelings prevailed, we could have successfully met this charge of Dr. Bhandarkar's as we did that of vagabondism, and rashness in the first period by presenting a united front. The conductors of the Papers were also prepared to take the whole responsibility upon themselves, and make a declaration that the Papers were no longer the Organs of the Body. But Mr. Agarkar wanted the declaration in the form that the views were of the individuals alone, *viz.*, the editor, thereby intending to deprive the opinions expressed in the *Kesari* of their importance. But as it was neither advisable nor correct to make such a declaration, the new proprietors of the Papers flatly refused to do so. This open division in the Camp encouraged our opponents, and their support encouraged Messrs. Agarkar and Gokhale, who supposed that they had influential sympathies. The majority of the Members thus came to be talked of by these two as social conservatives. The bitterness of feelings increased, and each party scandalised the other. All further progress thus came to an end, and the net result of the whole was a new Paper started by Messrs. Agarkar and Gokhale in October 1888. Thus within two years of the separation of the Press, originally intended to get rid of the diversion, there was started a third Paper.

(9) Another cause of difference arising from separation of the Press was the Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Mr. L. R. Vaidye. Mr. Apte had hitherto been uninterruptedly allowed to carry on his book-making business, and the competition came upon him as a rude shock; the history of the transaction is briefly as follows:

The manager of the Press, now free and independent, was bound to make the concern a paying one. In his endeavours to do so, he thought of publishing a work that would sell. The

Moropant Bharata, the Rigveda etc., were suggested to him; but having worked as an agent to Mr. Apte's English-Sanskrit-Dictionary, he was for publishing a similar Sanskrit-English Dictionary. In all fairness, he first made the offer to Mr. Apte; but Mr. Apte refused either to compile the Dictionary, or to find out a man who would do it, or to undertake correction if one be compiled by others, on the ground that he was engaged in compiling a larger Dictionary, and that he had no time until that was finished, to undertake a similar work. The manager thereupon consulted another Life Member; and on his refusing, made the offer to Mr. Vaidya, who accepted it. Mr. Vaidya appears to have written to Mr. Apte on the subject, enquiring if his compiling a School Dictionary would interfere with the latter's work. Mr. Apte replied in the negative. This was alright so far, but when the advertisement appeared, the spirit of competition was roused, and Mr. Apte undertook the publication of a smaller Dictionary. I do not enter into the unseemly rivalries that followed,—my object being simply to show how differences arise when conflicting individual interests spring up. At this stage I attempted a compromise by suggesting to Mr. Apte that as originally intended, he should put off the publication of his smaller Dictionary, until his larger work was out, and that he should give to the subscribers of his smaller Dictionary (then about 100) his larger work, the difference in price being made up by the manager Aryabhushan Press. He accepted the compromise at first; but afterwards refused, I am told, on the advice of Mr. Agarkar, who charged me with taking an active part against Mr. Apte in this affair. In reply I shall only state that if I had been so minded, I could have written a Dictionary myself. But I never thought anything of the kind. As " next hypothecated man for the Press " I was and have been freely consulted on all questions,—the Dictionary question not excluded,—and I have given my advice freely in the interests of the Press. If Mr. Apte's interests now clashed with those of the Press, it was no fault of mine. He himself had refused the offer made to him at first. He might not have done it, had he known the consequence. But how could Mr. H. N. Gokhale have helped when he was not yet sure of finding a competent man to compile a Dictionary for him? But it was useless to go into these details. I have shown how the separation of the Press has been the cause of creating different

interests in two cases; and that is the main point with which we are here concerned.

(10) These, however, are not the only instances in which outside interests are allowed to conflict with those of the Society. It was the same conflict of interests which produced the difference in the matter of the Holkar Grant of Rs. 700 as detailed in the Appendix. Mr. Namjoshi's conduct can be generally explained on the same ground. His ambition avowedly lies outside the School; and I admit that his energies have more scope outside than in the Schools. All this was clearly perceived, and all outdoor work was mostly given to him in consequence; and for a time the arrangement worked on satisfactorily. But as outside interests grew stronger and Mr. Namjoshi's position here became more and more certain, School interests ceased to have with him the same importance that they had previously. I have myself expressed my disapproval of Mr. Namjoshi's policy in some cases at the risk of displeasing him. I can cite a number of instances in justification of my view. But it is unnecessary to do so for our present purpose. It may, I think, be admitted to be evident that, if Mr. Namjoshi had no interest other than those of the School or Society to forward, he would have consulted his colleagues more freely and managed the School work rather differently. One may, however, excuse Mr. Namjoshi for spending his energies outside, provided he did not subordinate School interests to others. But those whose energies are solely and absolutely required for the College work, cannot, and ought not to, plead the same excuse. It is on their devotion that the prestige of our Institution mainly depends; and I am sorry that these persons should not see their way to settle the question of outside work in conformity with our original aims and objects, even when they see that inconvenient questions are imported into the Body from those outside interests. The only way to get out of those difficulties is to stop outside work altogether, or rule that profits thereof shall go to the common fund, as is the case in Missionary Societies. It is all very well to talk of carrying on outside work so as not to interfere with School duties, and spare energy to do it. I have no faith in those theories; and it will be enough if in addition to my own experience I cite the rules of the Missionary Bodies in support of my views.

(11) Another case of difference which may be classed under the same general head, is book-making generally. So long ago as 1879, this was anticipated in our discussions, but during the early stages, it had never assumed any serious form. But as the number of Life Members increased, and as their outside occupations could not but be mostly literary, it became evident that some step should be taken to prevent rivalries and consequent discussions being introduced into the Body from this cause. Thus on 3rd Feb. 1888 a resolution was passed that if any special book be required for the School, it would be prepared by open competition, and its copy-right be purchased by the managing Board. The first case that came for consideration afterwards was, however, decided on a contrary principle. Mr. Gokhale, who was given Arithmetic of Standard VII for one year, soon discovered that a book was wanting for Indian students; and the Board resolved to make in a text-book for 1889, on the 26th June 1888, before it was published. There are minor cases of the same kind; but as they do not relate to Life Members, I do not go in their details.

(12) I have thus far shown how outside work and interests produce differences in the School. But these are not the only cases which do so. There are others, and of greater importance too, in as much as they relate to the internal management of the Institutions, and the chief of them is the pay and the gratuity question. The question appears to be a small one at first; but a little consideration will show that it strikes at the very root of the organization we have pledged ourselves to especially as the solution as we have now adopted lies, to a certain extent, led members to seek outside work, with all its evils, as described above. Our Mission has been to establish an Educational Institution at Poona, after the model of Missionary Societies for the purpose of making English Education indigenous by placing it on a proper basis. It was necessary for the purpose, that we should form ourselves into a Society of Indian Jesuits, and this, all of us had voluntarily consented to do. It was our determination to devote ourselves to the work accepting only bare maintenance. The phrase "bare maintenance" is rather vague; so I must state what was our idea of it. Our highest estimate of the same, when we imposed this mission upon ourselves never rose higher than

Rs. 75 per mensem. I may further mention that when we wrote on the subject of University Fellowship, the salary we proposed for the posts was Rs. 100 per mensem. Thus, if we believed that men could be generally found to devote their lives to educational work for Rs. 100 per mensem, it was natural for us to suppose that decent maintenance could be secured on Rs. 75 per mensem, as expressed in a letter we wrote to a gentleman in the town in 1879. But this is not all that we were prepared to do. In our enthusiasm we went still further. We could well see that in the beginning we could not get even Rs. 40 per month. When it was asked how many would be content with what we might get, some withdrew from the project, Mr. Agarkar and myself still remaining firm. I repeat this account clearly to show what our object was in starting the School with so much sacrifice. I have always believed, and I think rightly and do still believe that our mission is to be content with bare maintenance, and to devote all our resources, gains and time to the Institutions. In the first days of the School, it was not possible to get even bare maintenance for all, and we have allowed some latitude in some cases ; but it was never understood that it should be the rule. When Mr. Agarkar proposed that our pay should be regulated, not according to our necessities, but according to the state of finance, I was taken by surprise. A phase of this doctrine has already been discussed above, but the principle was then in its infancy. However, in two years more, it became fully developed and the 5th of February 1887 will be a day memorable in the history of our internal relations. In giving the following account of this memorable discussion, I have, as before, kept clear of the mind, the acrimony and abuse which it evoked. Not that it is not a factor in alienating our feelings, but that it is but a consequence; and the real cause with which we are here concerned lies deeper. It is this deeper cause that I am going to describe, and especially the change in the charitable spirit of 1884, when we allowed special gratuities to members, preparing for the M. A. examination, with the object thereby of enabling us to more easily develop our School into a College. That spirit has now forsaken us by this time; and new doctrines were developing and spreading as if by contagion under the plausible name of equality of work and pay as stated below.

(13) I have already stated that Mr. Agarkar is the origin-

ator and the principal advocate of this doctrine. When and how the doctrine originated, I do not know. It was never expressed in our discussions in 1879, nor during the first years of the School, when each of us could hardly get 30 or 35 Rupees per mensem. It was then admitted that a needy Life Member might be helped,—funds permitting,—by gratuity. So late as 1884-1885 when the rules of the Society and the bye-laws of the Board were framed, and which incorporated the principle of gratuity, the doctrine was not urged. It might be that there was yet no time for it; or it might not have been yet conceived. But whatever the cause the doctrine as such was at least never put forward with so much force before 1885. During that year the finances of the School improved, and there came on the discussion as to gratuities and extra payments. "Equal work and equal pay" was the cry. If anyone had special wants, let him meet them by private work. We must all be equally paid, in other words all special allowances should either be stopped, or if a Life Member gets a special allowance, the same should be given to all, irrespective of their wants. As against this it was urged that some of the Life Members in the first year of the School had invested in School furniture and other matters at great sacrifice to themselves. This objection was met by the proposal of purchasing the sacrifices of the elder Members by paying them for whatever they might have thus invested on the School. I objected strongly to this proposal, which I said was nothing less than asking us to sell our position. It was not, I replied, for this that we sacrificed, and that I would be the last person to sell my position in this way. I also pointed out the danger of accepting Mr. Agarkar's views on the gratuity question, in as much as, it was tantamount to telling the Members to do any outside work they liked, and so divert their energies from the original object of the society. Owing to this opposition, the proposal of buying up the sacrifices of older Members was given up; but the question of gratuities and pay still remained. As a concession to Mr. Agarkar, it was resolved that, as each Life Member now received Rs. 75 per mensem with a Life Policy, the occasion of gratuity should be rare, if at all in future, and Mr. Gole's gratuity was stopped accordingly. But Mr. Agarkar was not satisfied with this; and he carried his favourite doctrines still further. Our monthly salary was then Rs. 40 per mensem, and an annual bonus of

Rs. 400 exclusive of premiums and income-tax charges. Now it so happened that Mr. Agarkar wanted something more than Rs. 40 per mensem for sometime. This he could have drawn from the last year's bonus or with the permission of the Board, from the then current year's grant. But he wanted to have both these annual bonuses untouched. The only way to get more monthly income was thus to apply for gratuity. But Mr. Agarkar was opposed to the principle of individual gratuities. He, therefore, brought before the Board on the 5th of Feb. 1887 a proposition to increase the monthly pay of all the Life Members by Rs. 5 per month. The only reason given for the proposed change was that the financial condition of the School permitted it. But though Mr. Agrkar took so bright a view of our finance, the person in charge of the accounts expressed an opinion otherwise. There was not much discussion on the proposition, as many of the votes were canvassed. I was not in the meeting, when the first discussion took place, and was called in only when everything was ready. As I entered I was told that all were for the proposal, and that only my vote remained to be taken. I was not a little surprised to hear this. I told the Members that if I voted for the proposal I was not a loser; but I objected to the principle of increasing pay, because finance permitted it. Rs. 75 per mensem (Rs. 40 per mensem and Rs. 400/- per annum, the grant annually) I said I knew to be enough for our purposes, and that so long as we got decent maintenance, prosperity of the finance was no ground for increasing salary, at least not so long as the Society was not properly endowed. I then proposed to the Members to allow Mr. Agarkar a gratuity according to our rules, if he had special causes of expenditure at the time. Thereupon ensued a discussion in which I explained the whole position, as given above. Some of the Members now seemed to withdraw from the proposition, they had taken and Mr. Agarkar's feelings were so roused that the discussion ended in a disgraceful squabble; and we retired without deciding the question. This made it evident to Mr. Agarkar, first that his principles would not succeed in the Body as long as I was there, and secondly that without me he might be able to get the majority to side with him. There was a similar disappointment with regard to the expression of his views in the Paper. These disappointments produced bitterness, bitterness grew into jealousy,

and jealousy into rancour as might be seen from his letters to me, written at the time of this discussion, and recently with reférence to Holker's grant. I shall, however, resume the narrative. Mr. Agarkar perceived that his majority was lost, he charged me with defying the authority of the majority, and thus arrogating, wisdom to myself; and soon after Messrs. Agarkar and Gokhale brought before the Board certain bye-laws, ostensibly for the purpose of better regulating the procedure of the managing Board meetings, but really as Mr. Namjoshi has observed, to put a gag into the mouth of Members, and to prevent plain and out-spoken discussion of the objects and reasons of propositions brought before the Board. The last bye-law No. 11 was framed to give legality to Mr. Agarkar's theory| of equality though it was so worded as almost to conceal its real meaning. I again exposed these bye-laws. I wrote that I was not opposed to the passing of any bye-law that would make the meetings of the Managing Board more regular and less vulgar, but I could certainly not approve of any attempt to take away the right of free criticism, provided private character was kept sacred. Nor could I approve of any attempt to change the principles of the Body, or stifle discussion by the help to technicality. I therefore, wrote to the secretary of the Managing Board on 23rd Feb. 1887 stating that under the tension of feeling then existing, and attempts then made to subvert the principles, I could not devote my heart to my work; and that the questions should be immediately decided by the Board. Upon this several confidential meetings were held, but with no definite decision on the main questions at issue. Thus the main cause of difference was left undecided only to produce rancour and bitterness. There was before the Board a compromise, and a resonable one too, regarding the pay question, it being proposed that the question of raising salary (greater than Rs. 75 p.m.) should not be taken up until there was a clear balance of Rs. 35,000, and that the salary should never exceed Rs. 100 per mensem. But even upon this we could not come to a settlement; and the meeting of the Board called for discussion of the proposal, dispersed without arriving at any conclusion. Mr. Gokhale even went so far as to declare that in his opinion, it was not desirable to tie down our hands in this way.

(14) It is amusing to note how the very Members, who desired to alter the original principles of the Body by the votes of the majority, should insist on the unanimous consent of all in the minor matter of granting occasional loans to needy Life Members, and others from the current funds. The question was first raised as previously stated, on the occasion of lending Rs. 300 to the press, on account on 31st March 1886, when Mr. Agarkar, who was in charge of the treasury, refused to pay, though the majority had sanctioned the loan. The money was paid at the time; but to satisfy Mr. Agarkar, we passed a resolution on 3rd April 1886, that in future, no sums should be lent to any one except by the unanimous consent of the Members. In short Mr. Agarkar was not prepared to look to the convenience of his colleagues, either by gratuities or loans at this time, whether from a desire to oppose me or to alter the old principles, I do not say. A year after, Mr. Gokhale was in need of a loan, and it is really curious to see that Mr. Agarkar, who had previously voted against a loan to Mr. Namjoshi, proposed to loan himself; and fearing opposition, seconded the proposition to make Mr. Gokhale's case an exception to the rules passed on 3rd April 1886, that no loan should be advanced without a unanimous consent of all, —a rule passed on the demand of Mr. Agarkar himself. As for myself I again urged at this time the question of gratuities as loans, but Mr. Gokhale, having withdrawn his request for a loan, the question was dropped, and the whole question remained unsettled.

(15). I now come to other causes of difference,—causes, when it is not the principle that is so much in question, but a rigid observance of it. In a Society like ours, rigidity of character and administration is especially necessary. The moral side for results of our institutions must be attended to as much as, if not more than, the intellectual and the physical. We cannot therefore, tolerate any looseness in our conduct or principles. Our aims, resources and means are well defined; and care must be taken to see that whatever we lay down, we follow rigidly. No false idea of show, splendour or luxury should be allowed to tempt us out of the proper limits. It may be said that in certain cases, a strict adherence to our principles, may be pecuniarily unprofitable. But these, I think, are the very occasions when we ought to take a strong position, and not care for the loss. Strength of character is as much neces-

sary in an Institution as in an individual; and on the main questions, which form the basis of our Institutions, we must show that we are prepared to fight for the principles. You know how we fought for Government Grants-in-aid at first. But the spirit soon left us, and then when it was apprehended that our grants-in-aid would be reduced according to the new rules by a few thousands, we were at once prepared to show cooked up accounts to suit the rules. Messrs. Namjoshi, Kelkar, Dharap and myself have protested against such a course at the time. Mr. Dharap even tendered his resignation of the Superintendentship. But I do not wish to go into these details now. This is not the only instance where such laxity is shown. The proposal to add a technical branch to the School, proceeds from the same cause. I do not mean, and never meant that technical education is not a necessity; but the only way of accomplishing any object is to keep it steadily before our eyes, and not allow ourselves to be drifted anywere by the force of circumstances. If one thinks that he can work up another aim better, the best thing is to do it separately, and not mix up the two things together to the prejudice of both. Our aim, as has been declared so many times, is to make liberal education indigenous; and it is necessary that all of us should keep it steadily in view. This reminds one of another looseness in our ways: *viz.*, our readiness to develop our College, with the aid of a European Professor. The question was undecided when I took leave in January 1889. But I was surprised to learn that within a week after Mr. Namjoshi wrote to Dr. Machichan and Mr. Chatfield on the subject; and it was only when Mr. Chatfield disapproved of the idea, and declined to promise full grant, that the question was given up. When I enquired about these letters, and on authority they were sent, I was told that they were private. But that only means that the matter was not formally brought before the Board. There can be no doubt that the views must have been acceptable to many of you, either it be from over-eagerness to have honours at any cost or from any other motive. I have myself heard a Member saying that he wanted to have first the second B. A. classes; and did not care how the College was developed. Again our outside engagements have made us even in our opinion, unable to better our knowledge or abilities; but our ambition of being the managers of a full-blown College, being all alive,

some of us are pepared to bring European Professors to aid us in the task, irrespective of the cost it would entail, or the friction it would create; and oblivious of the principles, with which we originally started. Sentiments like these clearly show, in my opinion, that we have given up our old resolve of fighting our way against all opposition, and thus forcing the recognition of our principles. Either we have lost the patience required for these things, or we do not care for the idea we set before us. On no other ground can I understand how some of us should exclaim "develop your College at any cost, or else we shall have to employ our energies in some other field"; and what is worse still, should have actually put these views in practice.

(16). While speaking of rigidity I may mention another case where the difference of opinion arises from the same reason. It is the question of Boarding. There is no difference as to the necessity of such an Institution; but all further progress is stopped, because, we cannot agree as to how it should be conducted. I told that it should not be a mere hotel. The object of attaching a boarding house to a school is not merely to give good food to the students, but also to watch their conduct during the whole day. The object can only be attained if the boarding is under the superintendence of a man of rigid morals, and above suspicion. This, I am sorry to say, was misunderstood into an opposition to the main proposal; instead of carrying out the idea, as I suggested, the whole thing has been allowed to drop. I do not believe that the thing was impossible to do on as rigid lines as necessary, if we had applied ourselves to the task, with a determination and self-control equal to our professions. The same, I think, may be said of undue familiarity with the subordinates and taking them into confidence with respect to the management of the Institutions. We have seen how narrowly we escaped disgrace in one case, and were put on a false scent in two others.

I have given the principal points of difference between us. These it will be found, arise from our unwillingness to adhere exclusively to the aims and objects we set before ourselves in the beginning. I have, as observed, tried to raise each question out of the dirt of grossness and abuse into which most of them have ended. *But in considering our feelings towards each other* the latter cannot be left out of account. It is not mere unwil-

lingness to carry out the original programme, but a positive desire to obtain recognition for the opposite principles that has produced this irritation to ill-feeling, and the real way of solving the difficulty is to go to the root of each question and settle it on new lines, if necessary. But the course appears to have been hardly, if ever, followed. On the contrary every attempt of settlement has failed; and all questions are left open to cause further irritation and estrangement of feeling every time they are in issue. It is for the last four years that I have been urging for a solution of the question given above (vide proceedings of the Board in Feb. 1887, 3rd July 1887, 15th July 1888, 27th Oct. 1888, 30th Jan. 1889, 5th June 1889, and 25th July 1890). Out of the various solutions proposed, hardly one has been consistently carried out even for a few months. Thus both the parties in their turn have offered to be indifferent for sometime. But such indifference cannot, and has not, lasted long. It was rather a postponement than a decision on the question. The creation of an indifferent executive Committee to look to the routine work of the Institutions, without power, to decide on the questions of principle, is of the same nature. It is an expedient to keep the routine working agoing; but all progress becomes impossible until we come to finite decision on the questions of principles. The desire of two Committees, internal and external, is also open to the same draw-backs. It is a good division of labour, when the ways and means are settled, and when everything else is alright. We have tried all these solutions, nay, more, we have even resolved that all outside work should be stopped after sometime. (27th Oct. 1888). But we have seen how soon the disturbed feelings came again to the surface. With these facts and experience, it was most difficult to see what amendments and modifications were necessary in the proposals of Mr. Namjoshi to restore good feelings among members. It studiously omitted all questions of principles, except that of native management, which, after the reply which Mr. Namjoshi received from Mr. Chatfield, might be looked upon more as a concession to that officer. The agreement was in fact a revival of the old solution of the internal and external Committees with a change for the worse, *viz.*, that one Committee was not to interfere with the working of the other. This proposal of Mr. Namjoshi was made with the object of bringing about a reconciliation

after I took leave for one term in June 1889, *i. e.*, after the Holkar grant incident and the correspondence with regard to the same, with the ultimate object of withdrawing from the Body, when I did think that my position could not be safe any longer. I might have mentioned that the present statement of reason was mostly drafted at that time, a circumstance which will show beyond doubt, that the questions raised are not new ones, and that my resignation was not given in a sudden fit of passion. Mr. Namjoshi's compromise did not succeed at the time. But at the end of May 1889, the question of outside work, salaries, and internal relations was again considered at a Meeting of the Managing Board, and a compromise was resolved upon (vide proceedings of the Board and my letter to the secretary dated 7th June 1889). After this I re-joined the School on the understanding that the settlement would be final. But like previous arrangements, this too proved to be nothing more than paper-arrangement. Somehow or other everyone felt that it was saddled upon him and instead of restoring the original feelings of cordiality, it only served to make our relations more complex. It had been resolved that no systematic outside work should be undertaken by any Member of the Body, but as soon as the principles came to be applied to certain Members, exceptions were raised and admitted so freely that such exceptions themselves became the rules. We pulled on for one time, *i. e.*, till October 1889, in this way when at the time of appointing a new Superintendent none was found willing to accept the office. Mr. Gole then offered to do the work if entrusted with arbitrary powers, and the offer had to be accepted as an inevitable alternative. I, however, plainly intimated that it was not my desire to work under such circumstances, and had again thought of retiring from the Body, when on the opening of the First B. A. Class in January 1893 Mr. Apte induced me to give up the idea, and the arbitrary Superintendentship was abolished. It was at this time hoped that the additional College responsibility may keep us together for sometime at least, but the hope proved to be illusive. Mr. Gokhale who had been for sometime working for the Sarvajanik Sabha Journal, thought of accepting the post of the secretary of that Association with two or three hours work every day. I again objected to such diversions of our energies. I pointed out that even Government did not

allow its servants to do anything else, and that for a Body like ours it would be carrying the principle of private work too far, to allow Members to contract such definite engagement outside the Body. The secretaryship, I said, was offered to me before, but I declined to accept it as long as I was connected with our Body, and that Mr. Gokhale could do the same. I also stated that there was still ample enough scope for Mr. Gokhale's energies in the duties of the Professor of the English Literature in the Fergusson College; and that if we wished to compete with other Colleges, we must at least show that we were not behind in reading work, as we admittedly were. My arguments, were, however, of no avail. The Board was equally divided on the question, and after an unpleasant scene in the Hall of the Sabha between Mr. Apte and myself, Mr. Gokhale came to be appointed secretary of that Body in June 1890. I again pressed for a solution of the question, with the result that a vote of censure was passed against me on 14th October, 1820. How far this vote is merited, I cannot say; but from the letter from Mr. Kelkar to the secretary of the Board, written immediately after my resignation, it may be seen that some of the Members voted against me for trifling reasons. I do not, however, wish to dilate in the matter. Suffice it to say that by constantly insisting on the settlement of the question of outside work and, salary, I have alienated the sympathy of almost everyone and rendered myself extremely unpleasant; so much so, that I am regarded almost an obstacle in the way of others and every fault of mine, however trifling, is at once caught hold of, and magnified to an incredible extent. I should not have cared for this, but even when my capacity had come to be questioned, and votes of censure passed against me, it was impossible to pull on any longer; and I was obliged to resign. I might be haughty or violent (I have examined these charges below), but for all that, if the Board had arrived at some final settlement of the great questions at issue, I should not have minded the charges at all. But as the matter stands at present, some of the vital principles of the Body are being stifled by preferring all manner of charges against me. How long such a state of things can go on, and whether the Body could succeed as originally contemplated, under these circumstances, I leave t to you to judge.

(17) Such is the history of our relations from the begin-

ning. I shall now make a few observations on myself and my conduct regarding the same. It is not denied that we came together for certain definite aims and purposes, that we made large voluntary sacrifices for the same. But it appears to be the opinon of some that I should not so obstinately stick to the original idea especially as the work is not of such a nature as can be carried on by a single individual. In other words, they mean that I should fall in with the majority instead of trying, as they think to force my ideas on them. Abuse apart, it is the same charge which Mr. Agarkar has brought against me, when he says that under the cloak of divine disinterestedness and stoicism, self-assertion and self-glorification has been my aim throughout. My reply to it is first that it is not merely my idea that I am fighting for. Of course, I came in as one of many; but the idea is one which was accepted by all, when we commenced the undertaking. Our first object was as may be seen from declarations made before the Education Commission, and some of the School Reports and Minutes afterwards to start indigenous Schools for higher English education; and with this aim in view, we resolved to be content with a bare maintenance, and devote all the rest of our income and energy to the interests of the Institutions. This was our ideal, and from the account given above, it will not be difficult to see how far we have been desisting from the course we originally chalked out for ourselves. There might have been some justification for these deviations in the early days of the School when we could hardly get Rs. 30 or Rs. 33 per mensem. But I think we have now reached a stage in which experience ought to show us that we must restrict the latitude, that we allowed in some cases in earlier days, if we wanted to prevent disunion, if not discord amongst the Members. Nearly everyone of us has an interest outside the Body. Nay, more we have come to believe that our duty consists only in teaching in the School for four hours, and that beyond that every individual is free to do what he likes. The feeling is especially strong in some of the new Members. They appear to believe that Life Membership of the Deccan Education Society is a good start for a beginner in Poona, and that if one has energy and ambition, he can use it as a stepping stone for personal distinction and gain. When such a dangerous doctrine prevails, I think I am right in forcing upon the attention of the Members, the object we had originally in view and

how far we are going astray. A friend of mine who is a Government servant, once remarked to me that he had sold his liberty to Government for so many rupees per mensem, and that he was not allowed to give free expression to his opinions in all cases, or to do anything which might go against Government interest. "I have sold my liberty", he continued, "for a full consideration, and I do not claim any credit for it. But your case is different. You claim credit for sacrifice, and that means that you are prepared to sell your liberty to the Society for less than what you could get elsewhere. In short, you must exclusively devote to your work for bare maintenance, without looking to anything else, and then only you can be said to have sacrificed." It will be at once seen that there is much force in this argument. The Society now gives us decent salaries; and this is the time when we ought to stop all outside interest, and devote exclusively to our cause. We take pride in being called "Jesuits"; but we are unwilling to imitate the singleness of their aim. We are unwilling to give up the various outside interests that conflict with the original one, by importing jealousies and rivalry into the Body; and what is still worse, if anybody directs our attention to the original aim, he must expect to be cried down as an obstinate stoic, who will have everything in his own way: we have surely fallen on bad times.

(18) Want of respect for the authority of the majority is the other part of the charge that is brought against me; but I am sorry to say that I do not understand what it means. When the aims and objects of a Body are once settled, I do not think the majority have any right to force any change in those views on the minority. You can change the aims and objects if you like, but that means that you must allow the unwilling Members to join the Body on the belief that it was intended for a definite purpose to reconsider their position. If they accept the change, well and good; if not, they cannot be blamed in the least for going away, in as much as they never joined it for a new purpose. Now this is exactly what I have been requesting you to do regarding the several questions at issue between us; but to no purpose. You do not wish to tie down your hands, nor will you have the courage to openly acknowledge that you have changed your principles. I cannot otherwise understand the indifferent position which some of

you have taken in these matters. It is a position which has done and is doing more mischief than positive decision. It is an undeniable fact that most of you are not prepared to go with me in rigid recognition of the original aims and objects, but somehow or other you do not want to take upon yourselves the responsibility of deciding between the opposite view: and in such a case, one must decide for oneself. As I have said above, I am prepared to go with the majority on questions of details, but when they decide on a question of principle, I think I have a right to reconsider my position, especially when their decision is against the principle originally acknowledged and laid down. I might add that even the supposed worshippers of the majority-doctrine have practically adopted the same view, when what they regarded as questions of principles were at issue. They have done worse, and tried to force their ideas on the Body in matters of details, by seeking outside help and assistance, or by writing to high officials about it. I have at least done nothing of the kind.

(19) But although such is my view of the authority of the majority, it must not be supposed that I was opposed to any reasonable compromise: on the contrary I have myself suggested compromise on the pay questions, and that regarding outside work, but somehow or other they were not passed, or if passed, were allowed to be violated soon after. I admit that compromises were not large ones, but in a Society like ours, it must be so. Our object has not been to go where circumstances might drift us. Such an object needs no sacrifice, and is not worth sacrificing for. Individuals, as well as Institutions, are of two kinds; those that take the circumstances as they are, and compromise with them, and those that obtain recognition of their views by creating favourable circumstances, by means of robustly and steadily fighting their way up. The moral force of sacrifice is required in the latter, and not in the former case, and there the compromises, if any, must be small. They are like deviations in the orbits of the planets,—deviations, however numerous they may be, they never prevail over the central force. They are the exceptions that prove the rule. Such deviations or compromises, I have never opposed; but the question before us now is not of small deviations, but of changing the course, or of keeping it unsettled altogether. In such a case it is but too plain that I cannot accept the compromise.

(20) Another charge against me is that I have myself violated the principle which I was seeking to have recognised, and that I have myself done much outside work, *viz.*, the Congress work. The charge is, however, entirely groundless. The Congress work was undertaken by me when I was on leave, and was thinking of resigning the Body. It is true that I rejoined in June 1889, and did not give up the work undertaken before. But that was because I did not regard the settlement as final, and again because the work was of a temporary nature. Those that have ventured to bring this charge against me, entirely forget the fact that I did not take up any Congress work in previous years, though it had long been in existence. Neither did I do any outside work during the first 9 years of the School, though when the School was started in 1880, it was entirely in my hands to fix morning hours for tuition, and leave the afternoon for pleading work. As regards the Press work, originally it was the work of all, and when it ceased to be so, I was expressly allowed to connect myself with it. But even then I did little for the Press, except giving general advice. I might also add that while I was on leave, a gentleman came to me to ascertain, if I could accept the secretaryship of the Sarvajanik Sabha; but I declined to do so on the ground that I had not then given up for good my connection with the School. However, I told him that as regards the Congress I could do the work, as it was of a temporary character. The same may be said of the work I did for our friends, the dismissed Mamlatdars. Knowing these facts as well myself,. if you are still pleased to perfer the charge against me, I must simply consider myself to be singularly unfortunate in being so rewarded for my disinterested labour, and that too at a time when I had nearly resolved to withdraw from the Body.

It must not, however, be supposed that I claim for myself a monopoly of all that is good and faultless. I am deeply conscious of my faults which, I know, have given at times reason to some of my Colleagues to be offended with me. The chief fault that I am aware of mine is my manner of expressing myself in strong and cutting language. I am, I think, never violent in the beginning; but being a man of very strong feelings, I often fall into the error of giving sharp and stinging replies when aroused, and of being unsparing in my criticism. Sharp words do cause an amount of mischief; but I can assure,

as I have done before this, that I spoke strongly because I felt strongly for the interest of the Institution. As far as I have been able to examine myself, I think that I have not even once given any reason for any of you to suppose that my words proceeded from any causes other than the interest of our Institutions. The very anxiety which I felt all along for our success has made me over-watchful of any the least tendency towards a flagging in the principles on which we started. I am quite free to confess that I may have been at times led into strength of expression, quite unwarranted by the exigencies of the occasion. But all these had proceeded from our conviction. I have always considered that self sacrifice, and self-negation are essential to the success of an Institution like ours. That is the only test by which we shall be judged, and by which we shall have to stand or fall; and I naturally resented any proposal which, to me, appeared to depart even in the least from that standard. As I value the welfare and permanancy of the Institutions started by us, my choice now lies between one of the two alternatives. My continuing with you will, and sure, never secure any more harmony and we shall always be quarrelling. Such a condition of things will never secure permanancy to our School and College. At the same time if I go away, though I know the original principles will suffer, there will be more harmony, and less of squabbles. When I place these two alternatives before me, the desire with which I joined in starting the Institution, and the anxiety of seeing it placed on a permanent footing make me think, however disagreeable it may be to me personally, I cannot do better than ask your permission to go away. I assure you that it was only after a great struggle with my own feelings that I have come to this resolve. In fact I am giving up now my life's ideal; but the only thought that by separating myself from it I shall serve it best, is my consolation. While I have been with you, I have not spared myself in serving the interest of the Institution; and I shall not imperil its existence by continuing longer with you. As I have hitherto served it by being with you, I shall now serve it best by tearing myself away from you. I should not even now like to take this decisive step, if I should have the least hope that you will agree upon laying down in writing to abide by the original principle. I tried to have such a settlement on various occasions before but without suceess; and I am now

forced to come to the conclusion that such a settlement is an impossibility.

(21) In the end I bid you, my dear Colleagues a goodbye, with my heart burdened with a load of sorrow ; but in the hope that by severing myself from you, I may perhaps be able to help you in preserving harmony, so very essential to the welfare of our Institutions, as it is for the sake of that harmony I am making this sacrifice of myself.

(22) With my best wishes for the continued prosperity of the Institutions with which I had the honour of being connected for the last eleven years.

I remain,
My Dear Colleagues,
Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

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